HISTORY OF ORISSA

K.C. PANIGRAHI

KITAB MAHAL

HISTORY OF ORISSA

(HINDU PERIOD)

The book is an earnest endeavour by an historian of national and international repute to present an exhaustive and authenticated account of the colourful history of orissa upto 1568 A.D. All possible care has been taken to examine the original source materials for presenting the history in a chronological manner. This book will definitely cater to the long standing needs of students of history as well as it will provide pleasurable reading material to all those who are lovers of Indian art and culture.

The book has been divided into 19 chapters from which the introductory chapter relates to pre-historic periods and topography, chapters 2 to 12 deal with dynastic history and rest of the chapters i.e. from 13 to 19 throw light on the cultural achievements of Orissa, especially the administrative organisation, socio-economic condition, religious traditions, art and architecture and colonial expension. In six elaborate appendices Dr. Panigrahi clarifies several old theories on the date of Kharavela, account of the Arab travellers, historicity of the Madala Panji and the research value of the Oriya Mahabharata of Sarala Dasa. Each chapter ends with a bibliography of selected works of other scholars in the field. At the end, a comprehensive index is provided for ready reference. The illustrations, though not exhaustive, will no doubt give an idea about the rich heritage of archaeological monuments of orissa. In short, it is a scholarly work marked by accuracy, precision and sound judgement. it will certainly rank among the most outstanding contributions on the history and culture of Orissa.

Kitab Mahal, Cuttack, Orissa



The author (born 1909) has devoted four decades of his illustrious career to the study of archaeology, history and culture of the State of Orissa. In his early career he was trained as an archaeologist under the able guidance of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit and Sir R. E. Mortimer Wheeler. He has served as an archaeologist in the Department of Archaeology, Government of India, as a Superintendent, as a Curator in the Orissa State Museum, as Professor of History in the Berhampur University. His outstanding contributions such as Archaeological remains at Bhubaneswer, Chronology of Bhauma - Karas and Somavmsis of Orissa Sarala Das (The Maker of India Literature Series), and many other books in English and in his native language Oriya' have brought him national and international repute in recognition of monumental contributions Government of India has awarded him 'Padmasri'. After retirement from active service, the author was appointed for a few years as the U G C Professor of History at Ravenshaw College, Cuttack and at present he is treated as the doyen of Orissan culture. He is extremely busy in writing research papers, hundred of such papers being already published in India and abroad

HISTORY OF ORISSA

[HINDU PERIOD]

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PREFACE

Efforts were made in Orissa from time to time to write the History of Orissa collectively, but all efforts proved futile. Scholars, general readers and students continued to feel the need of a History of Orissa. The students were particularly in need of such a history, especially of the earlier period. In the present volume efforts have been made to carter to their needs.

My main attempt here has been to write in a chronological manner the histories of the ancient and mediaeval dynasties of Orissa. The chronology of ancient and mediaeval dynasties dealt with here is, in the ultimate analysis, a mathematical problem. Any big error in any part of it produces conflicts and contradictions and any attempt to slur over the difficulties results in bringing out more conflicts and contradictions. An unbiased interpretation of the original sources providing chronological data and a strict adherence to a truthful course which alone can throw light to clarify obscurities, are therefore more necessary than learning in tackling the chronological problems. Accurate chronologies in respect of the dynasties dealt with in this volume, are precluded by the nature of materials utilised in this volume, but the main purpose of this work will be fulfilled, if it has not fallen from the ideals, and if the main frame-work of the chronologies worked out here remains unassailed and unaltered by future discoveries.

In its treatment this work follows the History of Bengal (Dacca University) Vol. I, Edited by Dr. R. C. Mazumdar but it must be pointed out here that the History of Bengal has been written by a number of eminent scholars who are profficient in their lines of investigations, but this History of Orissa is the work of a single person.

As soon as I completed this work with the help of a Steno-typist provided to me by the Publisher, I was overtaken by a serious type of illness. Consequently I have been unable to put it to further revison which it needed.

While preparing this work I have received the help and co-operation of many scholars and well-wishers, but the following scholars have been particularly helpful to me :—

Dr. Karuna Sagar Behera, Professor of History, Utkal University.
Dr. Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra, Curator, Orissa State Museum,
Dr. Bijay Kumar Rath, Curator, Orissa State Archaeology.

Dr. Umakanta Subudhi, Deptt. of History, G. M. College, Dr. Ramesh Prasad Mohapatra and Dr. Bijaya Kumar Rath has gone through the proof and Dr. R. P. Mohapatra has prepared the index to this work. Dr. D. N. Pathy, Divisional Manager, Orissa Tourism Development Corporation prepared the cover and lay out of this book.

I am extremely thankful to Sri Jagadish Chandra Khandai, Proprietor, Kitab Mahal, Cuttack who has taken immense pains in bringing out its timely publication.

Cuttack
November, 1985

K. C. Panigrahi

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1. Introduction

Pre-historic Periods :

Excepting the coastal strip, most parts of Orissa were and are still covered with hills and forests and they provided ideal sites for the habitation of primitive man. Food and water were the primary necessities of the earliest man and these simple needs were satisfied by the hills, forests, streams and the upper reaches of the big rivers that we find at present in Orissa. Geographically the hills and the forests of western Orissa, Chhatisagarh and south-east Bihar form a single unit even at present and they were more so in the pre-historic periods. Therefore, there is a great deal of similarity in the pre historic implements that have been recovered from Chakradharapur, Chaibasa, , Ranchi and Manbhum, with those that have been found in the hilly regions of Orissa. Geologically speaking, the coastal plains of Orissa are of recent creations, formed by the river deltas gradually elevated from the sea level. The lithic industries of the pre-historic periods that have been traced in the coastal plains of Orissa, therefore, belonged to the last phase of these industries. The pre-historic implements found in Orissa have been divided by the scholars proficient in pre-historic studies, into three broad categories, *Viz*. Early Stone Age Culture, Middle Stone Age Culture and Late Stone Age Culture.

Early Stone Age Culture : Speaking of the find spots of the Early Stone Age tools, Dr. G. C. Mohapatra observes : "The tools of this culture, occurring in the secondary laterite pits and cemented coarse gravels of the river sections are generally made out of coarse grain quartzite. The most popular raw material, which seems to have been available in plenty to the Early Stone Age men, was perhaps the river-worn quartzite pebbles. However, a fairly large number of tools have also been made out of big chunks of rocks presumably quarried from local out-crops." Speaking of the tool-types the same scholar says : "Hand-axe, cleaver, scraper, point, discoid, irregularly flaked pebbles and irregularly flaked bifaces are the main tool-types. Cores and flakes also occur in suitable proportions. Majority of the tools are made bifacially." These earliest man-made tools were used for digging,

cutting, chopping, killing animals and scraping the skins. The lithic implements of this age have been discovered in plenty from the gravel pits of the secondary laterite at Kuliana, situated at a distance of nine miles from Baripada, and have been studied by Mr. P. Acharya, Prof. Nirmal Kumar Bose and Prof. D. Sen along with some foreign scholars. In the Talcher areas the same tools of this age have also made their appearance.

Middle Stone Age Culture : The lithic implements of this age were formerly being considered as a phase of the Early Stone Age, but modern scholars now consider them as belonging to a new age. Dr. Mohapatra observes : "During the Early Stone Age hand-axes, cleavers, a few scrapers and crude points were all which man needed for his day-to-day activities. In fact none of them was a specialised tool and they could be used for any type of work. With a small population and plentiful supply of game these unspecialised tools could have sufficed during the Early Stone Age. But the tool-types which we come across in the Middle Stone Age industries, are generally meant for serving one purpose only, which not only means that man had then developed his skill in tool-making but also had started specialising under pressure of his diverse needs arising out of scarcity and competition." The tools of this age have been dug out of gravel pits at Banai.

Late Stone Age Culture : The tools of this age are not found from the stratified areas. They mostly occur on the top of the silt deposits on the dried up river courses and streams and even in the cultivated fields. These tools were made by man when he started to live an improved standard of life by taking to cultivation and domesticating animals. The Late Stone Age industries also included microliths which are of smaller dimensions and were created for serving a variety of purposes. The stone celts of this age are polished and were intended for serving a variety of purposes. Swords and axes and celts of this age indicate a higher standard of specialisation and their shapes anticipated implements of the copper and iron ages. The tools of this age have been found at Baidipur, Bahalda, Khiching and Dengaposi.

The tools of the Late Stone Age Culture include scrapers, borers, burins, points, lunates and blades, each of which was used for a special purpose. The shapes of these implements indicate an advanced standard of life led by man in this age. Some scholars believe that the Microlithic culture, Chalcolithic culture and the Polished Stone Celt culture prevailed side by side in the various parts of India. The tools of all these cultures also indicate an improved standard of living by man.

Of the polished stone celts, particular mention should be made of the finds at Baidipur in Mayurbhanj, situated at a distance of fourteen miles from Baripada. The late Mr. P. Acharya who was an inhabitant of this village, collected a very large number of these polished stone implements from his village and brought them to the notice of scholars. One peculiarity of these finds is that they were discovered in some cases in association of ancient pottery. The age to which the polished stone celts belong, also produced chisels, hammer-stones, fabricators, ring-stones for weighing, digging sticks and mace-heads, indicating that man in this age led an agricultural life. He was no more a nomad or savage in this age.

Pre-historic Copper Implements : In the museum at Baripada several pre-historic copper implements have been preserved, but unfortunately their provenances are not available. One pre-historic copper implement was later utilised by the Gajapati Purushottamadeva for recording a land grant to a Brahmin family. The Copper Age pre-historic sites are reported to have existed at Dunria in the Palalahara subdivision of the Dhenkanal district and at Khiching, Kshetra, Baghada, etc. in the Mayurbhanj district. Many of these implements are of the double-edged battle-axe type. These implements indicate a stage when man had a knowledge of metal working in a crude form.

A list of pre-historic sites of Orissa furnished by Dr. G. C. Mohapatra, indicates that the main abodes of the Early Stone Age man were Mayurbhanj, Dhenkanal, Sundargarh and Keonjhar districts.

Some of the pre-historic sites of Orissa as mentioned by Dr. G. C. Mohapatra in his list are given below :

District Mayurbhanj : Baripada, Bangiriposi, Kuliana, Kuchai, Pratapapura, Sirsa, Baidipur, Chitrada, Haripur, Kaptipada, Khiching and Manda.

District Dhenkanal : Dhenkanal, Bhimkund. Hindol Road, Palalahara, Talcher, Harichandanpur and Dunria.

District Sundargarh : Jangra, Satkuta, Banaigarh, Bisra, Khadiakudar, Khuntagaon.

District Keonjhar : Champua, Jagannathpur, Ramla and Patna.

District Puri : Bhubaneswar, Udayagiri hills, Ranpur, Sisupalgarh.

District Cuttack : Mathurapura (Athagarh).

District Ganjam : Jaugada.

District Sambalpur : Kudabaga and Lasa (Kuchinda).

Topography :

The region now known as Orissa, was known in ancient times under various names, the most prominent of which were Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala. To have an idea about the ancient geography of Orissa it is necessary to have an idea about the antiquity and extent of main ancient geographical units. The names Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala have found mention in our ancient Sanskrit and Pali literature which record the origin of these countries in mythological stories, but these legendary accounts do not enable us to have an exact idea about their historical origin. They however seem to suggest that Kalinga, Utkala, Odra and Kosala were inhabited by the different stocks of people, but in course of time they gradually became amalgamated, though the distinct nomencaltures of their territories conrinued to exist. It may be noted that, except Kosala, the other three geographical names are still applied to the whole of modern Orissa. Each of them during its historical existence found mention in different sources which provide interesting accounts about it.

Kalinga : The name Kalinga occurs in the *Puranas* in association with Anga, Vanga, Pundra and Sumha. In the *Mahabharata* there is an indication about the location and the extent of Kalinga. In the *Vana Parva* the sage Lomasa pointedly says, "This is the country of the Kalingas where flows the river Vaitarani." This evidence clearly indicates that the land now known as Orissa was included in the Kalinga country, but its extent in the *Mahabharata* age cannot be determined. In the list of the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* of the sixth century B. C,, described in the Pali literature Kalinga does not appear as one, but this omission does not prove that, Kalinga did not exist as a *Mahajanapada* or a great state. Megasthenes and Pliny refer to Kalinga, but do not give us an exact idea about its extent. We are on a surer ground about the extent of Kalinga when we come to the age of Asoka. His Special Edicts (also known as Kalinga Edicts) at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar, are addressed to the *Mahamatras* and the *Kumaramatya* (prince viceroy) of Tosali, while his same edicts at Jaugada in the Ganjam district are addressed to only the *Mahamatras* of Samapa. From these two inscriptions of Asoka now to be found in Orissa, it becomes apparent that for the sake of administration he divided the Kalinga country into two broad divisions, northern and southern. In the northern division the capital Tosali was situated, while Samapa formed the secondary capital in the southern division. The evidence furnished by Asoka's Inscription thus clearly proves that Kalinga in his time included the entire region now known as Orissa,

though its northern and southern boundaries cannot exactly be determined. It seems, however, that its southern boundary extended upto the river Godavari. The northern limits of Kalinga of Asoka's time cannot be determined.

During the second century B. C. the present state of Orissa was certainly known as Kalinga as is evident by the fact that in the Hatigumpha Inscription at Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar Kharavela is described as *Kalingadhipati*. During his reign Kalinga expanded into an empire, the extent of which is variously determined by scholars. We do not know when his empire became dismembered, but even after the fall of his empire the land of Orissa continued to be called Kalinga. By the fourth century A. D. when Kalidasa wrote his *Raghuvamsam*, Kalinga seems to have been divided into two regions, of which the northern region was known as Utkala. In the fourth canto of his work it is stated that the people of Utkala showed Raghu the path to Kalinga. In the Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta it is stated that during his southern campaigns Samudragupta conquered Kottura, Pishtapura, Erandapalle and Devarashtra, which have been identified with Kothoor in the Ganjam district Pithapuram in the Godavari district, Erandapalli and Yellamachili in the Visakhapatanam district respectively. In one of the earliest copper plate records of Orissa, known as Sumandala Copper Plates of Prithvivigraha, Kalinga as a *rashtra* (kingdom) has found mention, but in the subsequent medieval epigraphic records the name Kalinga does not appear. This does not, however, mean that Kalinga as a geographical name became extinct. It continued to be applied to the territory between Ganjam and the river Godavari in the subsequent ages down to the Ganga and Suryavamsi periods.

Dantapura, one of the early capitals of Kalinga, has not been identified. Various suggestions made by scholars about its location and its identity still remain to be confirmed by archaeological evidences. Kalinganagara which was capital of Kharavela, has tentatively been identified with Sisupalagarh near Bhubaneswar. The Early Eastern Gangas established their capital at a place which was also known as Kalinganagara and it has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district by Mr. R. Subbarao, though there are also other suggestions for its identification. Kalinganagara ceased to be the capital of the Gangas when Chodaganga conquered Orissa about A. D. 1110 and he chose Kataka (Cuttack), more centrally situated in his extended kingdom, as his new capital.

Utkala : Utkala appears in the *Mahabharata* in association with the countries of Odras, Mekala, Kalingas and Andhras. This geographical name has also found mention in the *Ramayana* and is considered by some scholars to be older than Kalinga. Utkala has found mention in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsam* as a neighbouring kingdom of Kalinga. This geographical name also occurs in the copper plate grants upto the times of the Gangas of Orissa and Palas of Bengal. During the reigns of Ramapala of the Pala dynasty and Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty the whole territory now known as Orissa appears to have been designated as Utkala. From the records of these kings it appears that Karnadeva, the last Somavamsi king, was driven out from his throne by Jayasimha, a lieutenant of Ramapala, but he was reinstated by Chodaganga. Even now the name Utkala is applied to the whole of Orissa and the oldest university of the state has been designated as Utkala University. The earliest capital of Utkala was Viraja as is evidenced by the Soro Copper Plates. This place has been identified with Jajpur where the shrine of Viraja still exists. Viraja has also been mentioned in the Bhauma copper plate grants. Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka, mentioned as the capital of the Bhaumas, was situated in its immediate neighbourhood.

Tosali : In Asoka's inscription at Dhauli Tosali has found mention as a city which has been identified by some scholars with modern Sisupalagarh, but Tosali or Tosala as the name of a territory also occurs in the subsequent literature and epigraphic records. In the *Gandavyuha*, a part of the Buddhist *Avatamsaka*, there is the mention of a country named Amita Tosala, the chief city of which was Tosala. Tosali as a territory has found mention in the copper plate records of Sambhuyasa and Lokavigraha and it also occurs in the Bhauma copper plate grants. From these references it appears that Tosali was divided into two parts, northern and southern. With regard to the extent of these divisions Dr. N. K Sahu makes the following observation; 'the extent of the territories of both the Tosalis can be tentatively known from the Soro, Patiakela, Midnapore and Kanasa Copper Plates. The modern Midnapore, Mayurbhanj and Balasore districts as well as the northern part of the Kataka (Cuttack) district may be said to have formed the kingdom of Uttara Tosali, while Daksina Tosali comprised roughly the modern Puri district and parts of Cuttack and Ganjam districts upto the river Rishikulya and the river Mahanadi appears to be the dividing line between the two territories."

Odra : Odra has found mention in the *Manusamhita* where it is associated with the Paundrakas, Dravidas, Kambojs, Yavanas, Sakas,

Paradas, Palhavas, Chinas, Kiratas, Daradas and Khasas. The earliest epigraphic records in which this geographical name appears as a *Visaya* or district, are the Soro Copper Plates of Somadatta from which it becomes apparent that it was a part of Uttara Tosali. Yuan Chwang mentions Odra or *Wv-cha* not as a district, but as a kingdom, 7000 *li* in circuit. From this description it appears that it was a big kingdom occupying the coastal strip upto the Puri district from which the kingdom of Kongoda began. In his accounts of Odra Yuan Chwang mentions two important places, *Che-li-ta-lo* and *Pue-sie-po-ki-li*, of which the later place has been satisfactorily transcribed as Puspagiri. Both these places have not yet been identified. Had they been identified, they would have thrown light on the geographical extent of Odra. In the inscriptions of the Somavamsis and of other contemporary dynasties Odra as a kingdom has found frequent mention.

From the name Odra or Udra or Odraka the present name Orissa has been derived. It appears as Urshin or Ursfin in the accounts of the Muslim geographers of the ninth and tenth century A.D. These geographers, who apparently collected information during the rule of the Bhauma-Karas in Orissa, give the divisions of the Bhauma kingdom as Urshin or Ursfin, Myas, Harkhand and Andras which have been identified with Orissa proper, Mahishya or Midnapore, Jhadkhand (the hilly tracts of Orissa) and Andhra. The name Orissa thus appears to have existed as early as the tenth century A.D. if not earlier. The Tibetan historian Taranatha refers to Orissa as Odivisa which is apparently a Tibetan corruption of Odisa. In the later Muslim accounts and in the early Oriya literature the name Orissa finds frequent mention.

Kosala : Kosala as a country finds mention in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahabharata* in a way from which it becomes apparent that the great epic refers to *Dakshina* Kosala and not to *Uttara* Kosala which comprised the Ayodhya region. Dr. H. C. Raychaudhury locates *Dakshina* Kosala in the territory now comprised in the modern districts of Bilaspur, Raipur and Sambalpur. This territory was under the Panduvamsis during the eighth and ninth century A. D. In the subsequent period the Kalachuris of Tripuri drove out the Panduvamsis from this region and occupied their Kingdom along with Sripura, the capital of the Panduvamsis. A branch of Kalachuri dynasty then established itself in this territory with Tummana (later Ratanapura) as their capital. Driven out from their home-land the Panduvamsis, of which the Somavamsis were a branch, established a kingdom which in its earlier existence occupied the modern districts of Sambalpur and Bolangir. The kingdom established by

the Somavmsis also came to be known as Kosala and the territory occupied by the Kalachuris became known as Dahala or Mahakosala. The earliest capital of the Somavamsis was Vinitapura identified with Vinika, about twenty miles from Sonepur. This capital later on became known as Yayatinagara from the reign of Yayati I.

Besides Kalinga, Utkal, Kosala and Odra, there are also smaller geographical units known to us from the copper plate records which were apparently occupied by the smaller kings or the feudatory chiefs. Of them, Kongoda occupied the most prominent place. It was a kingdom of considerable extent which was visited and described by Yuan Chwang in the seventh century A.D. It roughly comprised the modern districts of Puri and Ganjam. Its capital was presumably Ganja, now pronounced as Ganjam due to Telugu influance. Svetaka was another smaller kingdom occupied by a branch of the Early Eastern Gangas. It has been identified with Chikiti, but in its extent it comprised a part of the Ganjam district with Sanakhimedi and Badakhimedi Estates. Another smaller kindom was Kodalaka which was situated in the modern district of Dhenkanal. Khinjali *mandala* was occupied by the Bhanja rulers and was divided into two divisions known as *Ubhaya-Khinidlis*, which comprised Baud-Phulbani and Ghumsara regions. Khijingakotta, identified with Khiching in Mayurbhanj, was the capital of another branch of the Bhanjas who probably ruled a kingdom comprising the parts of modern Keonjhar and Mayurbhanj districts. Epigraphic evidences vouchsafe the existence of a small kingdom, known as Banaimandala which was ruled over by the Varaha rulers of the tenth and eleventh century A.D. This geographical name has come down to us. All these geographical units played their parts in the political and cultural history of the Orissa.

Literary References to Kalinga and Odra :

In the vast Sanskrit and Pali literatures certain accounts of Kalinga and Odra have sometimes found mention. These accounts cannot, however, be termed as history or archaic history. We do not know the chronology of these accounts, nor do we know whether they represent true historical accounts or are the products of the imagination of the poets and authors. The occurrence of the name Kalinga along with some accounts about it in our ancient literatures, however, indicates that Kalinga as a geographical unit made its name conspicuous in ancient India.

In the *Mahabharata* the king of Kalinga appears as an ally of Duryodhana, while the Odra king is represented to have sided with the

Pandavas. In the accounts of the *Digvijaya* of the Pandavas Sahadeva is stated to have defeated the king of Kalinga.

The Vedic and the early Brahminical works represent Kalinga as an impure country and class it with Anga, Vanga and Sumha, This taboo seems to have been due to the fact that Kalinga was not fully Aryanized. The *Puranas* like the *Vayu*, *Matsya* and *Brahmanda* furnish us with names of the main ruling dynasties of India and along with them mention thirty-two Kshatriya kings who rule over Kalinga. But these sources do not record the activities of the Kalinga kings.

In the Pali literature some accounts of Kalinga are found, but they are mostly of legendary character. In the *Jataka* stories and other Pali works Karakandu, Mahakalinga and Chullakalinga appear as the kings of Kalinga, but nothing of their historicity can be traced from these works. The Buddhist work *Dathavamsa* however furnishes us with certain traditions about Kalinga, which appear to have a substratum of historical truth. These traditions will be discussed later on. As already observed, the sixteen *Mahajanapadas* (the big states) of the Budha's time, mentioned in the Pali literature, do not include Kalinga as one. We cannot therefore begin the dated history of Kalinga from the sixth century B.C. due to the lack of chronology, accurate or appoximate. The dated history of Kalinga starts from the reign of Asoka in the third century B. C.

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2. Kalinga under the Nanda and the Maurya rule

It is generally assumed that there was a period of Nanda rule in Orissa and that it was Mahapadma Nanda who conquered Kalinga and annexed it to the Nanda empire. The assumption is based on the Puranic and legendary accounts. No authentic history of this period is available. The term Nanda is found mentioned in the Hatigumpha Inscription twice and in the same inscription it is stated that a Nanda king had excavated a canal which was re-excavated and enlarged by Kharavela. Leaving aside the legendary evidences, this is the sole epigraphic evidence on which a period of Nanda rule in Kalinga has been postulated by some scholars. Dr. B. M. Barua however identifies the Nanda Raja of the Hatigumpha Inscription with Asoka. We have accepted this identification and have added that there is no contemporary or even early evidence to show that the dynasty established by Chandragupta Maurya was ever known as the Maurya dynasty. The name Maurya appears to have started from a legend, utilised in the drama *Mudrarakshasa*, that the name of Chandragupta's mother was Mura. The *Mudraraashasa* composed by Bishakha Datta in the 8th Century A.D. contains very late traditions and on their evidence we have been unable to conclude that Chandragupta's dynasty was ever known contemporaneously as the Maurya dynasty. On the other hand in the late traditions the Mauryas have been termed as *Nandanvaya* and *Purva-Nanda sutas*, indicating that the so-caliled Maurya dynasty was originally known as the Nanda dynasty. Dr. N. K. Sahu has not, however, accepted this position and has tried to show that there was a period of Nanda rule in Kalinga lasting for about half a century. He has assigned some punch-marked coins to this period but has not referred to any other type of material relic in Kalinga under the Nanda rule. The punch-marked coins would have been circulated in Orissa even without the supposed rule of the Nandas. They would have continued to be current as a part of trade commodities. For their currency in Orissa the rule of the Nandas was not a necessity. The Nandas are not known to have undertaken any irrigation work in any part of India, but we know at least one instance that Asoka executed a vast irrigation work in Junagarh of Gujrat. It

is therefore not impossible that for the benefit of the newly conquered people of Kalinga it is Asoka who had excavated a canal which was re-excavated and enlarged by Kharavela.

We have thus no sure evidence to show that there was actually a period of Nanda rule in Orissa. We cannot connect this rule with any type of contemporary relic as we can do with Asoka's rule in Kalinga, which has left several monuments in this country.

The dated history of Orissa thus starts from the reign of Asoka, particularly from the time of the Kalinga War in 261 B.C. There is no unanimity among the scholars about the causes of the Kalinga War, but one cause which is generally accepted by all scholars is that it was an act of aggression. It is an accepted fact that Asoka was an aggressive prince and that he eliminated all possible claimants to the Magadhan throne through violence and blood-shed. After having secured his position in Magadha through violence, he would have thought of completing the Magadhan empire in India. His father Bindusara and his grandfather Chandragupta had conquered almost all parts of India, in consequence of which the Magadhan empire had grown into a vast one, including practically the whole of India and excepting Kalinga and the southernmost tip of the peninsula. This empire had also included such outside territories as Afganistan and Beluchistan. It had also within its orbit Kashmir and Nepal. In the face of the vast development of the Magadhan empire, the existence of Kalinga as an independent country would have been an eyesore to an ambitious and war-like king like Asoka. The prosperity of this counrry due to its maritime trade, would have also excited his cupidity. Even though the Magadhan empire had grown into a vast one, it still required good sea-ports for its naval supremacy and maritime trade. There were such sea.ports in Kalinga, which Asoka would have tried to acquire by force.

The Kalinga War of 261 B. C. was thus a war of aggression. Kalinga's independence has become an eyesore to the Magadhan emperor and this was the first and foremost cause of the Kalinga War. There is a story prevalent in Orissa, particularly among the fishermen of the eastern coast, that Asoka fell in love with a beautiful fisher-woman named Karuvaki and wanted to marry her. In order to gain his object he wanted to acquire the home land of this beautiful woman by force and this led to the Kalinga War. This tradition is, however, very late and cannot be relied upon.

The details of the Kalinga War are not known to us. Asoka has mada in his Rock Edicts a brief reference to its results from which the

details of the operations cannot be gleaned. He states that the Kalinga War resulted in one hundred thousand people killed, one hundred and fifty thousand carried away as captives, and many more died of starvation and disease that followed in the wake of the terrible war. This account presents an overall picture of the great devastations caused by the Kalinga War. The figures given by Asoka about the number of the slain and the captives indicate that the Kalingan army was a vast one and that the country had a large population.

We do not know whether Kalinga was a monarchy or a republican country at the time of Asoka's invasion. There is no reference in Asoka's inscriptions to the king of Kalinga whom he defeated. He has always referred to the Kalinga country as Kalingas. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee thinks that Kalinga was a republican country in Asoka's time and that it had a larger extent and a greater population, so that the casualities in the Kalinga War were so great. This may be true but we have no other evidence to support it. That it had a very large population is however apparent from the number of the soldiers killed and carried away as captives in the Kalinga War.

The effects of the Kalinga War :

Generally a great victory leads a war-like monarch to greater attempts for the greater victories, but Kalinga War produced a very different effect on Asoka. He was struck with remorse and became horrified at the immense blood-shed caused in the Kalinga War. He ended his war-like career and sheathed his sword for ever. Asoka expressed his feelings in one of his edicts as follows :

"In conquering, indeed, an unconquered country, the slaying, death and deporting that occur there are, considered extremely painful and serious by the *Devanampriya*. Even more serious than this is that those who live there whether the *Brahmanas* or the *Sramanas* or the other sects or house holders etc. to them occurs injury or death or deportation of the beloved ones. And also to the people who are fortunate to have escaped and whose affection is undiminished (by the brutalising effect of war) occur the injury as their friends, acquaintances, companions and relatives also suffer from the same misfortune. This is shared by all men and is considered very deplorable by *Devanampriya*." He futher adds, "even the one hundredth part or one thousandth part of all those people who were slain, who died and who were deported at that time in Kalinga would now be considered very deplorable by *Devanampriya*."

These are the genuine feelings of a noble monarch who after having become remorse-stricken, put an end to his career of conquests. Henceforward *Dharmaghosha* replaced *Bherighosha* in his empire. He not only gave up war as a method of conquering the countries but also wanted to win the hearts of the people through the methods of peace and *Dharma*. He exhorted his sons and successors not to indulge in any war for the purpose of conquest.

Asoka thus became a pacifist and ultimately became a Buddhist. We do not definitely know the name of the person who converted him into that religion. The Cylonese traditions represent Tissa as his preceptor, but the northern traditions refer to Upagupta who is said to have converted him into this new religion. At any rate, the one great result of the Kalinga War was that Asoka became a Budhist and also a pacifist. In Asoka's time Buddhism was a small religious sect confined to Magadha and to some northern parts of India. After his conversion Asoka became engaged in the missionary activities for the spread of this obscure cult in India and other parts of the world, as a result of which Budhism was raised to the status of a world religion. There cannot be a greater result of any war than this. *Chandasoka* became *Dharmasoka* and found a place in the world history.

Even though Asoka gave up warfare as a method of conquest, he certainly meant to hold the conquests made by him and his predecessors. Although he expressed repentance for the results of the Kalinga War, he did not make it a free country. Kalinga remained included in the Magadhan empire and it became an integral part of it. Asoka took measures to consolidate his position in Kalinga, but did not grant freedom to its people who must have desired it. He adopted a conciliatary attitude towards the Kalingan people by introducing a good administration in their country, but there is no evidence to show that he granted them any measure of self-government or independence.

We may be sure that Asoka introduced into the Kalinga country the same type of administration which prevailed in other parts of his empire. Kalinga became a major province and its capital Tosali became one of the major provincial capitals like Takshasila, Ujjaini and Suvarnagiri. It may be that for some time Asoka kept this newly-conquered province under his direct control, but afterwards he appointed a member of the royal family as the Viceroy of Kalinga to whom his Special Rock Edicts at Dhauli have been addressed. His desire for the good administration of Kalinga has been reflected in these Special Rock Edicts which are otherwise known as Kalinga Edicts. He seems to have

appointed a council of officers to assist the Viceroy in his administration. The details of the constitution of this council are not however available from any source. He issued special instructions to his officers in Kalinga to be specially careful in the administration and to be conciliatory to the people. His desire for the good administration of this newly-conquered country has been reflected in one of his special edicts, which runs as follows :—

"In affairs of Administration, there might be persons who would suffer imprisonment or coercion. In that also might occur accidental death in prison and many might also heavily suffer for that. In that case you must strive to deal with all of them impartially, the attributes which are not conducive to impartial dealings are malignity, irascibility, harshness, hastiness, lack of practice, indolence and weariness. You all must strive so that these attributes may not be in you. At the root of all impartial dealings lie the absence of anger and avoidance of hurry. The judicial officer of the capital (*Nagara* i. e., Tosali) must strive at all times for this and they should not inflict sudden imprisonment or sudden coercion on people. For this purpose I would be sending on quinquennial tours the *Mahamatras* who would not be harsh and irascible and would be soft and gentle in dealings."

From these words Asoka's desire for good administration is apparent, but we do not know whether his desire was put into practice by his officers. He must have appointed in Kalinga the same classes of officers as were appointed in other provinces of his empire. The designations of the different classes of his officers as gleaned from his numerous inscriptions, are *Pradesikas*. *Rajukas*, *Yuktes*. *Mahamatras Stri-adaksha Mahamatra*, *Anta-mahamatra*, *Nagaraka* or *Nagara Vyavaharaka* etc. Besides, the *Dharma-mahamatras*, who formed a special class of officers were meant for the spread of Asoka's *Dhamma*. The duties and the functions of these officers have been differently interpreted by different scholars. At any rate, these officers would have also been appointed in the bureaucratic government of Kalinga after its conquest. The cities of Tosali and Samapa have respectively been mentioned in the Dhauli and Jaugada inscriptions. Of the two, the former was the capital city of Kalinga and the latter was the divisional headquarter of the southern part of the province. Asoka's officers would have carried on the administration from these two centres.

The *Atavikas* or the forest folk who lived in the adjoining territories of Kalinga were not brought under the direct imperial admini-

stration. They with the rulers were left with their internal sovereignty, but Asoka showed special solicitude for the welfare of these forest folk. In one of his Special Rock Edicts he says, "The King (Asoka himself) desires that they should not have any anxiety because of him, they should be consoled by him and they should obtain happiness and not sorrow from him." Though he shows a paternal attitude towards them at the beginning of this rock edict, he ends it by saying that, if they (the forest folk) would rise in revolt against him, he had the sufficient powers to put them down.

Of the missionary activities of Asoka in Kalinga very little is known. But the relics of his age in this country, which we shall discuss later on, indicate that he carried on religious propaganda for the spread of Buddhism here as he did in other parts of his empire.

The forepart of an elephant figure carved on the top of the boulder containing the inscription of Asoka at Dhauli and the remnants of an Asokan pillar are the relics which can be directly connected with the reign of Asoka. A few more relics that have been brought to light by the excavations at Sisupalagarh may also be ascribed to his age. Sisupalagarh was an ancient fort, the remains of which are now to be found at a place of the same name situated about 2 miles from Bhubaneswar on the Bhubaneswar-Puri road. The ramparts of the fort now converted into high mounds still present an imposing sight and from them it becomes apparent that it was a planned fort, square in shape, with the sides three quarters of a mile each. Each side had two elaborately constructed gates and several exits. One of these gates on the westren side was excavated by the Archaeological Survey of India in 1947 in collaboration with the Orissa Government. It revealed the unique features of the gate which had lofty watch towers on both sides besides a broad entrance and one ancillary passage. Some scholars propose to identify this ruined fort with Tosali mentioned in Asoka's inscription at Dhauli which had become the capital of Kalinga in Asoka's time.

Unfortunately the excavations of Sisupalagarh which push back the history of Kalinga prior to the reign of Asoka, do not throw any new light on the political history of Orissa. The antiquities recovered do not even enable us to identify the city. The excavations have however, revealed the nature of the fortification of the city and have determined the duration of its life. According to the chronology fixed by Mr. B. B. Lal, the Superintendent in charge of the Excavations. "The initial date of the site goes back to about 300 B. C. with a margin, if any, on the earlier

side. The uppermost limit of the site is determined by the presence of the so-called Puri Kushana coins (of copper) in the latest levels of the site" and since these coins are generally assigned to the middle of the 4th century A. D. 'that date, derivatively, represents the upper limit of the site.' The fact that it had existed during the reign of Asoka enables us to conclude that it might have played some part in the Kalinga War which proved to be such a turning point in his career and also of the history of Buddhism. It is most likely that Sisupalagarh, whether it was known as Tosali or by any other name, was occupied by the victor of the Kalinga War, who turned it into the headquarter of this newly conquered country. Barring some pottery specimens, no other relics that can be specifically assigned to the Mauryan period has, however, been unearthed by the excavation. But, the non-discovery of other Mauryan relics do not preclude the possibility of its having been occupied by Asoka. The excavations, it should be emphasised, were conducted merely in the nature of soundings and deep digging was concentrated within the area of a few square feet. So far as the early history of Kalinga is concerned the excavations of Sisupalagarh do not thus advance our knowledge of the Asokan age in Kalinga very much.

The earliest levels of Sisupalagarh revealed no structural remains but, as the Superintendent of the Excavations has observed, "that should not necessarily mean that the buildings in the period were made of some perishable materials like timber." Since, deep digging was confined to an area of a few square feet, it was not expected to strike any structural remains in the sub-soil water which contained the earliest relics. It was also not expected to recover any other antiquities from a such a small area, except the potteries of which some specimen have been reproduced in the report on the excavation.

It is to be noted in this connexion with them that a few types show remarkable affinity with similar vessels recovered from the levels assignable to the 4th and 3rd century B. C. of the various sites in northern India. It is also to be further noted that the relics of the earliest period of Sisupalagarh (c. 300—200 B. C.) show affinities with their corresponding types of the north while the same of the later periods, with those of the south. While the potteries of the earliest period are found inter-mingled with the types recovered from the various sites of the north, the same antiquities of the Early Middle Period (200 B. C. to 100 B. C) and the Late Middle Period (A. D. 100—200) have their exact prototypes in black-and-red and rouletted wares recovered from the

excavations at Brahmagiri and Chandravalli in Karnataka state and at Arikamedu near Pondicherry. In respect of other antiquities recovered from Sisupalgarh excavations, the same phenomenon is also noticeable. The layers of the earliest period yielded nothing but pottery and so it is not possible to say whether a northern culture influenced the other material objects of the place in the third century B C., but other antiquities of the later periods such as terracotta ornaments and clay bullae both in their prototypes and frequency of occurrence indicate a culture more southern than northern. It is true that same types of ear ornaments of Sisupalagarh are represented in some sculptures of northern India and clay bullae are reported to have been found in Rajaghat (near Benaras) and Kosam (near Allahabad) but these objects have been recovered in greater profusion from the southern sites. In another respect the ancient site of Sisupalagarh showed a remarkable homogeneity with other ancient sites of the south. It is the total absence of the terracotta toys which form the major part of the excavator's finds in the sites of northern India.

From the data provided by the Sisupalagarh excavations it may be reasonable to conclude that in the earliest part of its life the city had intimate contact with a northern culture while in the subsequent periods its culture had more affinites with the south. In 1949 some excavations were also carried on by the Archaeological Survey of India at Dhauli in the site very close to the Asokan inscription. These excavations at Dhauli, of which no report is available, also confirm this conclusion. The writer was present at the excavations and he has seen that a trench laid in the close vicinity of the Asokan inscription exposed a thick wall, made of rubble and mud mortar, similar to the walls of new Rajagriha at Rajgir. The trench also yielded some terracotta snakes and multi-spouted vessels of which the prototypes had been recovered from the excavations at Maniar Math at Rajgir.

Asoka's inscriptions and a few material objects left to us provide a light spot on the otherwise dark period of the Kalinga history, but this light vanishes soon after his reign. We do not know the exact period for which Kalinga remained included in the Mauryan empire. Some scholars have suggested that Asoka's empire was partitioned by his two successors, Dasaratha and Samprati. The eastern part of the empire fell into the share of Dasaratha and it may be that Kalinga was ruled over by this prince. Our evidences about the political condition of Kalinga after Asoka are meagre, and nothing can be said with certainty about the duration of the occupation of Kalinga by the Mauryas. It seems, however, that in 185 B.C. when Pushyamitra Suṅga usurped the

Magadhan throne, the dissolution of the empire started. The change of the dynasty signified this dissolution and the independent kingdoms like the Satavahana kingdom and Chedi kingdom came into existence. The Mauryan rule in Kalinga appears to have ended in about 185 B.C.

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APPENDIX-I

ASOKA'S SPECIAL EDICTS IN HIS INSCRIPTION AT DHAULI AND JAUGADA

The major rock inscriptions of Asoka to be found at Shahabaz-garhi, Mansehra in the north-western frontier of the present Pakistan, at Girnar near Junagada in Kathiawad and at Kalsi near Dehra Dun contain a series of fourteen edicts. The same number of edicts are also found in Asoka's inscriptions at Dhauli and Jaugada, but the edicts No.12 and No. 13 to be found in all other inscriptions, have been omitted from the Dhauli and Jaugada versions and in their stead two special Kalinga edicts are to be found. The first of these Kalinga edicts is addressed to the *Mahamatras* at Tosali in the case of Dhauli and to the *Mahamatras* of Samapa in the case of Jaugada. The second Kalinga edict at Dhauli has been addressed to *Kumaramatya* (the prince viceroy) as well as to the *Mahamatras* at Tosali, but the same edict at Jaugada has been addressed only to the *Mahamatras*. We reproduce here the English translations of these two special edicts (also known as Kalinga Edicts) as made by Dr. Hultzsch in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Oxford, 1925.

The First Kalinga Edict : "At the word of *Devanampriya*, the *Mahamatras* at Tosali (who are) the judicial officers of the city, have to be told (thus). Whatever is recognized (to be right), that I strive to carry out by deeds, and to accomplish by (various) means. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object, *viz.*, (to give) instruction to you. For, you are occupied with many thousands of men, with the object of gaining the affection of men. All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided with complete welfare and happines in this world and in the other world, the same I desire also on behalf of (all) men. And you do not learn how far this (my) object reaches. Some single person only learns this, (and) even he (only) a portion, (but) not the whole. Now you must pay attention to this, although you are well provided for. It happens in the administration (of justice) that a single person suffers either imprisonment or harsh treatment. In this case (an order) cancelling the imprisonment is (obtained) by him accidentally while (many) other people continue to suffer. In this case you must strive to deal (with all of them) impartially. But one fails to act (thus) on account of the following dispositions ; envy, anger, cruelty, hurry,

want of practice, laziness (and) fatigue. (You) must strive for this, that these dispositions may not arise to you. And the root of all this is the absence of anger and the avoidance of hurry. He who is fatigued in the administration (of justice), will not rise; but one ought to move, to walk, and to advance. He who will pay attention to this, must tell you : See that (you) discharge the debt (which you owe to the king) such and such is the instruction of *Devanampriya*. The observance of this produces great fruit, (but its) non-observance (becomes) a great evil. For if one fails to observe this, there will be neither attainment of heaven nor satisfaction of the king. For how (could) my mind be pleased if one badly fulfills this duty ? But if (you) observe this, you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me and this edict must be listened to (by all) on (every day of the constellation *Tishya*. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to fulfil (this duty). For the following purpose has this rescript been written here, (*viz.*) in order that the judicial officers of the city may strive at all times (for this), (that) neither undeserved fettering nor undeserved harsh treatment are happening to (men). And for the following purpose I shall send out every five years (a *Mahamatra*) who will be neither harsh nor fierce, (but of gentle action) *viz.* in order to ascertain whether (the judicial officers) paying attention to this object...are acting thus, as my instruction (implies). But for Ujjayini also the prince (governor) will send out for the same purpose ...a person of the same description and he will not allow (more than) three years to pass (without such a deputation). In the same way (an officer, will be deputed) from Takshasila also. When...these *Mahamatras* will set out on tour, then, without neglecting their own duties they will ascertain well, (*viz.*) whether (the judicial officers) are carrying out this also thus, as the instruction of the king (implies)."

The Second Kalinga Edict : "*Devanampriya* speaks thus. The *Mahamatras* at Samapa have to be told (this) at the word of the king. Whatever I recognize (to be right) that I strive to carry out by deeds and to accomplish by (various) means. And this is considered by me the principal means for this object *viz.*, (to give) instruction to you. All men are my children. As on behalf of (my own) children I desire that they may be provided by me with complete welfare and happiness in this world and in the other world, even so is my desire on behalf of all men. It might occur to (my) unconquered borderers (to ask)—'What does the king desire with reference to us.' This alone is my wish with reference to the borderers (that) they may learn (that) the king desires this (that) they may not be afraid of me but may have confidence in me; (that) they

may obtain only happiness from me, not misery; (that) they may learn this (that) the king will forgive them what can be forgiven; that they may (be induced) by me, (to) practise morality; (and that) they may attain (happiness) both (in) this world and (in) the other world. And for the following purpose I am instructing you (*viz*.. that) I may discharge the debt (which I owe to them) by this that I instruct you and inform (you) of (my) will, *i.e.* (of) my unshakable resolution and vow. Therefore, acting thus (you) must fulfil (your) duty and must inspire them with confidence in order that they may learn that the king is to them like a father (that) he loves them as he loves himself (and that) they are to the king like (his own) children. Having instructed you and having informed (you) of (my) will, *i.e.*, (of) my unshakable resolution and vow, I shall have (i e. maintained) officers in all provinces for this object. For you are able to inspire those (borderers) with confidence and (to secure their) welfare and happiness in this world, and in the other world. And if (you) act thus you will attain heaven, and you will discharge the debt (which you owe) to me. And for the following purpose has this rescript been written here (*viz*.) in order that the *Mahamatras* may strive at all times to inspire (my) borderers with confidence and (to induce them), to parctise morality. And this rescript must be listened to (by all) every four months on (the day of) *Tishya*. And it may be listened to also between (the days of *Tishya*). It may be listened to even by a single (person) when an occasion offers. And if (you) act thus, you will be able to carry out (my orders.)"

3. Kalinga under the Chedi Dynasty : Kharavela

As already stated, the history of Kalinga after the Maurya rule is obscure and it is not known exactly when this country regained its independence. We have suggested that the Maurya rule in Kalinga probably ended with the overthrow of the Maurya dynasty by Pushyamitra Sunga in about 185 B.C. The next light spot is provided by a long but very badly damaged inscription occurring on the overhanging brow of the Hatigumpha in the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. It records the achievements of a mighty ruler of Kalinga named Kharavela. Had this inscription been fully preserved, it would have thrown considerable light not only on the history of Kalinga, but also of India of this time, but unfortunately it is so badly mutilated that it can never be fully read and restored by any scholar. This unsatisfactory condition of the epigraph has provided ample field for conjectural readings and restorations. Consequently there has been no unanimity among the scholars who deciphered it and commented upon it, even about the crucial points of its contents. In the circumstances the controversies regarding the date of Kharavela and his achievements will continue to exist so long some other corroborative evidences are not forthcoming. We are giving here only such facts of this epigraph as have generally been accepted by eminent sholars.

The inscription gives out that Kharavela belonged to the *Mahameghavahana* family of the Chedi clan. The Chedis were originally ruling in Madhyadesa or Magadha and it has been suggested that a branch of this royal family of the hoary antiguity, came to Kalinga and established its sway over it. We do not know when they migrated to Kalinga, but from the Hatigumpha inscription it becomes apparent that Kharavela was the third member of the Kalingan Chedis. It is not however clear whether Kharavela or any one of his predecessors threw off the Magadhan yoke. The description given in the Hatigumpha inscription of the early life of Kharavela gives an idea that he was a successor of an independent king.

The inscription opens with a salute to the Jaina saints and then gives us some ideas about the childhood and the boyhood of Kharavela. It is stated that he was endowed with the noble and auspicious bodily marks. He was handsome and possessed a ruddy body. By the age of 15 he became proficient in sports and games and then he learnt royal correspondence, currency, finance and administrative and religious laws. At the age of 24 he was crowned king. After giving a descripition of his early life upto the 24th year, the Hatigumpha inscription records the events of his 13 years' reign chronologically. It is stated that in his first regnal year he arranged the repairs of the gates and buildings of his capital Kalinganagara, which had been destroyed by a storm. These repairs and some other public works in the same year cost him thirty-five hundred thousand coins.

In the second year of his reign he undertook an expedition with the forces, consisting of cavalry, elephants, infantry and chariots, towards the west without caring for Satakarni who was evidently a Satavahana king, and reached the river Krishna and threatened the city of Mushiknagara or Rishikanagara, situated on that river. There is no evidence to show that Kharavela ever came into a conflict with the Satavahana king Satakarni and therefore Dr. D.C. Sircar suggests that friendly relations existed between the two kings, so that Kharavela was allowed to pass unopposed with an army through the Satavahana territories.

In the third year he entertained the people of his capital with dancing, singing, instrumental music and feasts. A reference has been made to the holding of *Samajas* which included animal fights, heavy drinking and feasting with meat.

In the fourth year he occupied the capital of a prince named Bidyadhara and subdued the Rashtrikas and Bhojakas of Berar and Maharastra regions.

In the fifth year he brought into his capital a branch of the canal which had been dug 103 or 300 years ago by a Nanda king. After this act he appears to have performed a *Rajasuya* sacrifice and remitted the taxes of his subjects.

The events of the next three years of his reign are not clear from the inscription. During these years he appears to have been engaged in the public activities and during this period a son was probably born to him.

In the eighth year he undertook his first expedition to the north and destroyed Gorathagiri which has been identified with a fort of the

same name in the Barabar hill of the Gaya district. Next he caused consternation in the city of Rajagriha, identified with Rajgir in the Nalanda district of Bihar, which was the earliest capital of the Magadhan empire. For the reasons unknown to us, Kharavela did not however proceed to Pataliputra, the then capital of Magadha. His exploits in Magadha were so great that they frightened and forced a Yavana king advancing towards Pataliputra, to retreat to Mathura. It is not clear from the epigraph whether the Chedi monarch followed the Yavana king to Mathura. Some scholars think that he went to Mathura and defeated the Yavana king.

In the ninth year he built a great palace called *Mahavijaya Prasada* at his capital town at a cost of thirty-eight hundred thousand.

The events of his tenth and eleventh years are again not clear from the epigraph, but some scholars suggest that during these years he remained engaged in public activities and perhaps undertook an expedition to the Pandya country in the south, broke up a southern confederacy and forced the Pandya king to pay him tribute in pearls. During this period he also conquered a city named Pithunda and got it ploughed with asses.

The twelfth year witnessed another expedition of the king to the north. This time he proceeded to Pataliputra, attacked the city and forced the Magadhan king Bahasatimita to submit to him. After this victory he brought back from Magadha the seat of Jina which had been formerly taken to Magadha by a Nanda king. His victory over Magadha was the crowning act of his military career.

In the last year of his reign he engaged himself in religious activities, excavated caves in the Kumari Parvata (Udayagiri hill) for the abode of the Jaina ascetics and distributed white garments among them.

It is not known whether Kharavela continued to live after his thirteenth regnal year, but there is nothing to show that the Hatigumpha inscription was a posthumous *prasasti*. The Chedi king might have lived for long, though the subsequent events of his reign remain unknown to us. His *prasasti* shows that he was not only a great military general, but also a good administrator. He undertook public works for the benefit of his people and in order to please them he remitted taxes and provided them with the occasions for merrymakings.

Kharavela's religion and religious views are reflected in the Hatigumpha inscription. He was a staunch Jaina as is evident from

several references in the epigraph which opens with a salute to the Jaina saints and contains the engraved symbols of *Nandipada, Svastika* and *Vaddhamagnala* which were sacred to the Jainas. He brought back from Magadha the seat of Jina which appears to have had a great religious singnificance on the national life of Kalinga. The return of this sacred symbol from Magadha to Kalinga not only indicated Kharavela's victory over Magadha but also his love for his own religion Jainism which was no doubt the State religion of Kalinga under the Chedi rule. His excavation of the cave temples for the abode of Jaina ascetics in the Udayagiri hill also indicates that he was a devoted lay follower of his religion. Kharavela was thus a staunch Jaina, but he was tolerant of all religious sects and respected the Brahmins and the Ajivakas. Though a staunch follower of Jainism, he was not a pacificist nor did he lay emphasis on the principle of *Ahimsa* or non-violence which was a cardinal principle of Jainism. His numerous conquests must have caused immense blood-shed and rendered people homeless and destitute. There is a reference in the epigraph to a *Rajasuya* sacrifice which Kharavela performed. The *Rajasuya* sacrifice is a Brahmanical ritual and it is not clear how Kharavela as a staunch follower of Jainism could perform it.

Though the liberation of Kalinga might have been achieved before Kharavela, it was left to him to complete the work of his predecessors by waging a successful struggle against Magadha and by getting back the sacred seat of Jina which seems to have had a great significance on the religious life of the people. It is also significant that for recording the events of his reign and for constructing his monuments Kharavela chose the Udayagiri hill which is not far from the Dhauligiri bearing Asoka's Rock Edicts. In the former hill we find the inscription of the victor of Magadha and in the latter that of the victor of Kalinga. Kharavelas' inscription seems to have been intended to counter-affect Asoka'se inscription. Kharawela's monuments of the Udayagiri marked the height of the glory of his dynasty, when freedom had been won, defeat from Magadha avenged, the sacred seat of Jina recovered and revival of Jainism was in full force. What happened after Kharavela we can only conjecture. Kamdapasiri who has styled himself as *Aira Maharaja Kalingadhipati* in the Manchapuri cave inscription, was probably one of his successors but nothing is known of him. Nothing is, also known of the prince Vadrekha mentioned in another inscription of the same cave. After Kharavela a pall of darkness descends on the history of Orissa, which becomes obscure again for centuries.

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APPENDIX-II

DATE OF KHARAVELA

The date of Kharavela is a highly controversial one. Some scholars place him in the second century B. C., some in the first century B. C. and others drag him down to the second quarter of the first century A.D. So much, however, has been said about the controversial date of this Chedi prince that one can hardly propose to launch upon a full discussion. Nevertheless, an attempt is being made here to discuss the main points of the date of Kharavela and put his reign within a chronological framework.

The Hatigumpha inscription having been badly damaged, we should, in the first instance, pick out such references in the epigraph as are likely to provide us with clues regarding the age of Kharavela; but in doing so we shall confine our observations to the readings in which there is a substantial agreement among the later scholars who, profiting by the mistakes of the earlier epigraphists, have finally deciphered it. These references are as follows[1];

1. In the third line there is a reference to a Satakarni (*Dutiya ca vase achitayata Satakarnim*), whom "not bringing into (his) thought" Kharavela is said to have "caused a multitudinous troop of horses, elephhants, footmen and chariots to move on to the western quarter.[2]"

2. The thirteenth line refers to Bahasatimita, pointedly spoken of as the king of Magadna (*Magadham ca rajanam Bahasatimitam*), whom Kharavela is said to have compelled to bow at his feet. In the same line Kharavela is credited with having "caused the honoured seat of Jina belonging to Kalinga, which was taken away by king Nanda, to be brought back from Anga and Magadha to Kalinga."

3. In line 6, the epigraph refers to a canal that was "opened out by king Nanda, a hundred and three years back (*ti-vasa-sata*)" and which was caused to be brought into his capital from the Tanasuli road by king Kharavela.

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1. B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscription*, p. 7—30.
We have adopted here the reading and translation of Dr. B. M. Barua. His numbering of the lines of the epigraph has also been adopted.
2. *Ibid*, p. 40—7.

Since there is substantial agreement about the reading of Satakarani, Bahasatimita and Nandaraja, the correct identification of any one of them will go a long way in fixing the date of Kharavela. To us Dr. B. M. Barua's identification of Nandaraja of the epigraph with Asoka[3] seems to be most probable, although we do not agree with any of his other conclusions made on the basis of this identification. There is more than one reason why Nandaraja of Kharavela's inscription should be identified with Asoka. In the first place, as Dr. Barua has observed, "it is almost conclusive from the statements of Asoka's R. E. XIII that Asoka was the first among the Indian kings reigning after Budha's demise, to conquer the theretofore unconquered land of the Kalinga (*avijitam vijinitum*) and annex the same to his own kingdom[4]" Secondly, among the known Indian kings of the pre-Christian era the Maurya emperors were known to have undertaken the construction of large irrigation works. Pushyagupta, Chandragupta's governor in the western provinces, began a large Irrigation work at Girinagara (Girnar) in Saurashtra (Kathiawar), and it was Asoka who completed it under the superintendence of his viceroy Tushaspha[5]. The name Tushaspha indicates that he was a foreigner, possibly a Persian, and it seems most likely that Asoka undertook the construction of several irrigation works under the superintendence of the skilled engineers imported from other countries of Asia. If he could undertake a vast irrigation project in a distant western province of his empire, there is nothing to prevent us from thinking that he would have constructed a canal in Kalinga, a newly conquered province, for which he has shown special solicitude in his separate Kalinga edicts. There is no evidence to show that the Nanda kings of whom Mahapadma Nanda was the most prominent, ever undertook the construction of irrigation works for the benefit of their subjects; on the other hand, we have it on the authority of the *Puranas* and the Greek sources that they were greedy, oppressive and most unpopular among their subjects. Asoka would thus appear to be the Nandaraja of Kharavela's inscription, who had constructed a canal in Kalinga and who had taken away the honoured seat of Jina from the same country as a war trophy that was recovered by Kharavela. If this identification is considered sound, the epithet Nandaraja applied to Asoka need not frighten us, because there is no evidence yet discovered, which can prove that during the age of Kharavela Asoka was known as a Maurya king or that he was not known as a Nanda king. On the contrary,

3. *Ibid.* p. 281
4. *Ibid.* p. 279.
5. V. A. Smith, *The Early History of India*, (4th Ed.), p. 139.

his grandfather Chandragupta has been represented as *Nandanvaya, Purva-nanda-suta* and *Maurya-putra* in the Brahmanical works, and it is only in the Buddhist works that his family members have been known as *Moriya Kshtriyas*.[6]

Since Asoka conqured Kalinga in about 261 B. C. and engraved his rock edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada in about 257 B. C., the date of the construction of the canal referred to in the Hatigumpha inscription, should fall somewhere in the neighbourhood of these dates. Most probably the construction of the canal and the engraving of the inscription took place simultaneously. Now, since the interval between the construction of the canal by Nandaraja and the fifth year of Kharavela's reign has been given as *ti-vasa-sata,* the correct interpretation of this compound will enable us to fix the date of Kharavela. But, unfortunately, there is a difference of opinion among the scholars about its interpretation. Some interpret it as 300 years and others, as 103 years. Even Dr. B. M, Barua who has been the last scholar to take great pains to decipher the Hatigumpha inscription, has not made up his mind whether *ti-vasa-sata* would mean 103 or 300 years[7]. He has not noticed a clue in Kharavela's inscription itself which may lead to the correct interpretation of this compound. There can be no difference of opinion that the compound *ti-vasa-sata* of the line 6 and *satadasa-lena-sata* of the line 14, are similar grammatical constructions, and must have therefore followed the same grammatical rules. But while interpreting *satadasa-lena-sata* as meaning one hundred and seventeen caves, he should not entertain any doubt whether *ti-vasa-sata* stands for 103 or 300 years. The compound *satadasa-lena-sata* admits of only one interpretation *viz.* one hundred and seventeen caves but not seventeen-hundred caves, because the later interpretation will land us in an absurd proposition that Kharavela and his relatives excavated 1, 700 caves in the Kumari Parvata which is identified with the tiny hillock of Udayagiri. Similarly the compound *ti-vasa-sata* can admit of only one interpretation *viz.* 103 years, but not 300 years. Therefore, the fifth year of Kharavela's reign will be (257-103) c. 154 B. C. and the beginning of his reign has to be placed in C. 159 B. C.

The reign period of Kharavela thus falls within the rule of Pushyamitra Sunga (C. 184 B. C.-148 B. C.). But the Magadhan king referred to in the Hatigumpha inscription is not Pushyamitra but Bahasatimita,

6. H. C. Raychaudhuri, *Political History of Ancient India* (4th Edition)-pp, 216-17 and fn. 5 of p. 216.
7. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 281.

apparently a Prakrit form of Brihaspatimitra. The late K. P. Jayaswal tried to solve the difficulty by identifying Brihaspatimitra with Pushyamitra "on the ground that Bahasati or Brihaspati finds mention in the *Sankhyayana Grihya Sutra* as the presiding deity of the Pushya constellation of stars.[8] This identification may be a rare example of scholarly ingenuity, but it will be acceptable to none. As a matter of fact, although the name Bahasatimita or Brihaspatimitra occurs on some inscriptions and coins of northern India, the King Bahasatimita of Magadha, the contemporary of Kharavela, still remains unidentified. Much of the difficulty will perhaps disappear, if he is identified with Brihaspati whom the *Divyavadana* represents as the son of Samprati, the grandson of Asoka[9]. The objections that are likely to be raised against this identification are that the name of Brihaspati of the *Divyavadana* does not end with "mitra", that he is known from a single source and that it will be difficult to suppose the existence of a scion of the Maurya dynasty as the king of Magadha after the usurpation of the Magadhan throne by Pushyamitra Sunga.

Such difficulties are however inherent in the nature of the materials with which we are trying to reconstruct the history of a dim past. It will be too much to expect that the *Divyavadana* which has preserved some historical traditions, could have accurately preserved the name of a Magadhan king. In fact such inaccuracies of the *Puranas* have not prevented scholars from utilizing them as a source of history or identifying the discrepant names found in them with the accurate ones of the coins and inscriptions. Udaka, Bhagabhadra and Simuka of the inscriptions have respectively been identified with Odraka (Andhraka, Bhadraka etc.)[10], Bhaga (Bhagavata etc.) and Simuka (Sindhuka, Chismaka etc.)[11], of the *Puranas* and Jethamitra and Indramitra of the coins with Vasujyestha (Sujyestha) and Vajramitra of the *Puranas*.[12] The contemporary Hatigumpha inscription has correctly given the name of the Magadhan king as Bahasatimita or Brihaspatimitra which has been preserved in the tradition in the abbreviated form of Brihaspati. The suffix *mita* (mitra) in Bahasatimita of Kharavela's inscription cannot also be taken as a sure indication of his Sunga origin, for, among the ten Sunga kings mentioned in the *Puranas*, only four names are found with

8. *Ibid*, p. 274
9. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. I, p. 96 fn. (108) and *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 511.
10. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 521
11. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 63.
12. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. III. Part IV, p. 479.

that suffix.[13] The name Brihaspatimtra being a common name among the contemporaries of the later Mauryas and early Sungas, it will be unreasonable to think that it was monopolized by any particular dynasty.

The fact that Brihaspati has been mentioned as a successor of Asoka only in the *Divyavadana* and in no other source, may not go against the proposed identification, if other evidences do not conflict with it. On the other hand, if other evidences support such an identification, the traditions preserved in the Buddhist literature about the successor of Asoka should be taken as more reliable. The existence of only a single successor of Asoka, *viz.* Dasaratha has so far been proved by the inscriptions,[14] while about nine other successors metioned in the *Puranas* and one mentioned in the *Rajatarangini*, no corroborative evidence is available. Under the circumstances, it will be unwise to perfer any of the sources of our information to the exclusion of others. It is obvious that the accounts that have come down to us from the Buddhist and the Brahmanical sources about the successors of Asoka, are fragmentary and, in some cases, fictitious and might have even been tinged with a sectarian bias. Each of these sources seems to have preserved a part or parts of the truth, but not the whole of it. The validity of their accounts can be tested only by corroborative evidences. When a contemporary inscription vouchsafes the existence of a Magadhan king named Brihaspatimitra, we should take Brihaspati of the *Divyavadana* as one of the successors of Asoka. The word Brihaspati, by itself could not have stood for the name of any king of this period, because the names of the deities, who were supposed to be patrons or protectors, invariably occur in conjunction with *gupta or mitra* to constitute the names of the kings and other high dignitaries of this epoch, e. g. Chandragupta, Pushyagupta, Jyesthamitra, Phalgunimitra, Brihaspatimitra, Agnimitra, Bhumimitra, Indramitra, etc. There is therefore all the more reason to think that the name of Brihaspatimitra, a successor of Asoka, has merely been abbreviated in the *Divyavadana*, into Brihaspati.

The existence of a scion of the Maurya dynasty even after the *coup d' e' tat* staged by Pushyamitra Sunga will not appear inconsistent with the known facts of Indian history. Pushyamitra Sunga has never been styled as king but has always been given the appellation of *Senapati* or commander-in-chief in all the records from which we know him. This clearly indicates that he never assumed the title of king, nor did

13. *Cambridge History of India* Vol. I, p. 518.
14. *Ibid* p. 512.
15. *Ibid*. p.521.

accept him as such. The natural inference is that there was in Magadha a king, though *Senapati* Pushyamitra was its virtual ruler. It seems most likely that after murdering Brihadratha, Pushyamitra set up on the throne of Magadha a scion of the Maurya dynasty as a titular king and although he was the kingmaker, he satisfied himself with his former title *senapati*. Had he ever become king, Dhanadeva of the Ayodhya inscription,[16] who wanted to take pride in his connexion with Pushyamitra Sunga, would not have referred to him simply as *senapati*. The tradition recorded in the *Divyavadana* has created a confusion and has represented Pushyamitra as the successor of Brihaspati, while according to the above discussion he appears to be the commander-in-chief of Brihaspatimitra who was the titular king. Pushyamitra Sunga was indeed more than a king and was free to control the religious and foreign policy of the State. This type of political situation is not unfamiliar in Indian history; the latest examples are the Brahmin Peshwas of the Mahratta empire and the prime ministers of Nepal. Therefore it seems most probable that Brihaspati of the *Divyavādana* was the king of Magadha when Kharavela attacked it and has been referred to as Bahasatimita in the latter's inscription. It will be useless to attempt to establish his exact relationship with Asoka or his grandson when our sources of information furnish us with such varying accounts, some recensions of the Puranic list giving the number of Asoka's successors as ten, some of them, as only six, the *Divyavadana* as six, Taranatha, as three and the *Rajatarangini*, as one. The name of a governor of Chandragupta Maurya was Pushyagupta and therefore so far as name endings are concerned, it is not inconsistent or improbable that the name of the commander-in-chief of Brihaspatimitra Maurya was Pushyamitra.

It appears, therefore, that Brihaspatimitra was the king of Magadha when Kharavela attacked Magadha in the twelfth year of his reign. According to the chronology adopted by us here, this second attack on Magadha by Kharavela would have taken place in 147 B. C. when Pushyamitra Sunga's virtual rule had just ended. It seems that so long as Pushyamitra Sunga was alive it was not possible for Kharavela to humiliate the Magadhan power. Indeed such a position can be inferred from the events of the eight year of his reign, when Kharavela is spoken of as having crossed or killed Gorathagiri[18] and as causing "terrible pressure

16. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XX. p. 57.
17. *Cambridge History of India*. Vol. I. p. 511.
18. Dr. B. N. Barua takes Gorathagiri to be the name of a king, while Mr. R. D. Banerjee thinks that it was the ancient name of the modern Barabar hills in the Gaya district. *History of Orissa*. Vol. I. p. 79.

to be brought upon the people of Rajagriha" and then as retreating to Mathura. This appears unusual when one considers the fact that his natural target of attack was the capital city of Magadha, i.e., Pataliputra. It seems that Kharavela received strong opposition from the great general at Rajagriha, which checked his advance upon Pataliputra and so he had to create a diversion by attacking Mathura which was probably included in the Magadhan empire. He had to choose an opportune time for his second attack on Magadha and that opportune time seems to have been provided by the death of Pushyamitra Sunga. With the weak king Brihaspatimitra on the throne of Magadha it would have been comparatively easy for Kharavela to attack Pataliputra and compel the reigning king to bow at his feet and to part with the honoured seat of Jina, formerely carried away to Magadha from Kalinga by one of his predecessors.

The political situation of Magadha and of Pataliputra after Pushyamitra Sunga is extremely obscure. He was the dominating personality of his age, who eclipsed all others and who has therefore loomed large in the Brahmanical and Budhist traditions because of his performance of two *Asvamedha* sacrifices and also for his anti-Buddhist activities. Although the *Puranas* speak of a number of his successors, their connexion with Magadha and Pataliputra has not yet been attested to by the discovery of any archaeological evidence. The *mitra* coins, issuers of some of which have been sought to be identified with the Sungas, have been found abundantly in the north particularly in Kausambi (Kosam near Allahabad) and Ahichchhatra (Bareilly district), but they have been conspicuous by their absence in Magadha proper. Indramitra whose coins were discovered at Kumrahar, the site of ancient Pataliputra,[19] does not appear in the Puranic list of the Sunga-Kanvayana kings. It seems that after the death of Pushyamitra Sunga, several branches of his family established themselves in different parts of India, while Pataliputra with its surrounding area remained in the possession of a scion of the Maurya dynasty. The existence of a Maurya ruling family at Pataliputra as late as the seventh century A.D. is attested to by the testimony of Yuan Chwang.[20]

The hostility that existed between Kalinga and Magadha during the time of Pushyamitra Sunga seems to have been reflected in a grammatical example given in the *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali, who is generally taken to be a contemporary of Pushyamitra Sunga. Patanjali, while explaining a

19. *Proceedings of Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 58.
20. *Watters, On Yuan Chwang*, Vol. II, p. 115.

vartika connected with the conjuction *Lit*, which is used in the sense of *paroksha* when outright denial is intended, illustrates the rule by making somebody say "Verily I did not visit the Khandika country, nor did I visit the Kalinga country."[21] As Dr. V. S. Agrawala rightly points out, Patanjali seems to have put this example in the mouth of a spy of Kalinga who, caught by the imperial officers of Magadha, wants to evade the situation by making a downright denial of his knowledge of the Kalinga and Khandika countries.

Apart from the synchronism of Kharavela with Pushyamitra Sunga, as discussd above, another synchronism is furnished by the reference to Satakarni in the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela. This Satakarni is described as the lord of the west and has apparently to be identified with a king of the Satavahana dynasty of the Deccan. There are several kings of the name of Satakarni in that dynasty and a definite indentification of the Satakarani of the Hatigumpha inscription will rest as much on the evidence of the palaeography of this inscription of Kharavela and the early Satavahana inscriptions as on the determination of the Satavahana chronology. According to Buhler, the palaeographical indications are that the Hatigumpha inscription of Kharavela, the Nanaghat inscription of Naganika, queen of Satakarni, and those belonging to the period of the last Mauryas and the early Sungas are all contemporary and that they all belong to the second century B. C.[22] The opinions of the Indian epigraphists about the age of Kharavela's inscription are at variance, but nevertheless, they all, except Dr. B. M. Barua, agree in placing it in the second or first century B.C.[23] Dr. B. N. Barua, as already noted, places Kharavela in the first century A.D.[24] His conclusions about the dates or Kharavela and Sri Satakarni of the Sanchi Stupa inscription, whom he identifies as Satakarni of the Hatigumpha inscription, are based on an over estimation of the value of the *Puranas* as a source of history, whereas their limitations and defects as such have been obvious to all. The *Puranas* place the rise of the Andhras (Satavahanas) after the Sungas and the Kanvas and in spite of the limitations of the *Puranas*, this statement has been given much emphasis and other evidences have been made subservient to it. The evidence of palaeography is a very variable factor at this time and scholars are aware that no definite conclusion can be drawn within a century. The inscrip-

21. *Journal of the Kalinga Historical Research Society*, Vol. I, No. 3, p. 241-2.

22. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 530 and 535.

23. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 145-53; D. C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 207 fn. 7.

24. Ibid, p. 277.

tions of Kharavela and those of the early Satavahanas can well be placed in the second century B.C., as several scholars have shown and it may not be thought reasonable to lay too much stress on a statement of the *Puranas*, the value of which as a source of history is doubtful. It will be best to quote a few lines from the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. 1 (p. 522), which expose the nature of chronology that the *Puranas* have preserved for the reconstruction of the history of this period.

"The Puranas have been edited, and, in the process, much of value as records has been destroyed. Certain incidental statements, their however, have escaped the editor; and these seem to show that the Kanvas and the Sungas were contemporary. The K nvas, who are expressly called 'ministers of the Sungas' are, in some versions, said to have become kings 'among the Sungas', and, as has been observed already, the Andhras are credited with sweeping away not only the Kanvas, but also 'what was left of the "Sungas' power". With regard to the Andhras, the more certain evidence of inscriptions assigns them to a period which is in flagrant contradiction to the position which they occupy in the Puranas".

It is possible thus that the dynasty of Kharavela in Kalinga and that of the Satavahana in the Deccan rose simultaneously as a result of the decline of the Maurya power after Asoka. It is not unreasonable to assume that the murder of Brihadratha by his general served as the signal for the disintegration of central authority, and might have emboldened the provinces to break loose. The rise of these two dynasties may be placed at about the same time. Apparently, Satakarni, the rival of Kharavela in the west, has to be identified with a Satavahana king of that time. Of Satakarnis mentioned in the *Puranas*, the first two closely follow each other. Apart from the reference in the Hatigumpha inscription, the name Satakarni has also been mentioned in a Nanaghat inscription and in a Sanchi epigraph, and apparently alluded to in a long inscription from Nanaghat. Satakarni mentioned in the Hatigumpha inscription, has usually been identifed with Satakarni, husband of queen Naganika of the Nanaghat inscriptions[25], though scholars differentiate the two and identify Satakarni of Hatigumpha inscription with Satakarni mentioned in a Sanchi inscription.[26] There are scholars again, who identify all these three. Satakarni of the Nanaghat inscriptions has

25. *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 213.

26. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, p. 145-53.

usually been identified with Satakarni I of the *Puranas*.[27] From the Nanaghat inscriptions he appears to be a powerful and ambitious ruler. Kharavela was an equally powerful and ambitious king as the Hatigumpha inscription indicates, and it is possible that in his designs he found an adversary in Satakarni I who has been described as the lord of the west in this epigraph. Satakarni of the Sanchi epigraph, which is placed palaeographically later than the Nanaghat inscriptions, was probably Satakarni II of the *Puranas*.

This identification is also borne out by the recent archaeological discoveries at Bhubaneswar. The three Yaksha images that were recently discovered by the present writer from Dumduma, a village situated near the Khandagiri and the Udayagiri, are strikingly similar in their manner of standing, dress and ornaments, to the Yakshas carved on the western gate of the Sanchi Stupa. A close comparison of the Yakshas of Dumduma and those of Sanchi clearly bears out their affinities and represents the two as belonging to the same artistic evolution. It is noteworthy that, while the miniature Yakshas of the Sanchi and Dumduma type occur in the Ranigumpha and the Ganesagumpha of the Udayagiri and in the Anantagumpha of the Khandagiri, they are conspicuous by their absence in the caves that bear the inscriptions of Kharavela, his chief queen and the *Aira Maharaja Kalingadhipati* Kamdapa-siri and Kumara Vadrekha. It is to be further noted that, on stylistic considerations, Sir John Marshall and Dr. Stella Kramarisch have placed those caves, which bear the Yaksha images just mentioned above, at the lower end of the evolution of the earlier group of the cave temples at Udayagiri and Khandagiri.[28] The conclusion should therefore be that the Yaksha images of the Sanchi type were later than the dates of Kharavela and his probable immediate successors Kamdapa-siri and Vedrekha. It is possible that these Yaksha images of the Rani, Ganesa and Ananta *gumphas* and those discovered from the village Dumduma were the results of a contact between Bhubaneswar and Sanchi which, as the inscription there proves, was in the occupation of the Andhra-Satavahanas under Satakarni II. The excavations and clearance of ancient sites at Sisupalagarh (Bhubaneswar),[29] Salihudam, Ramatirtham and

27. Prof. G. V. Rao has tried to identify Satakarnis of the Hatigumpha, Nanaghat, and Sanchi inscriptions as one and the same king. *Proceedings of Ind. Hist. Congress*, 1949, pp. 62-5, But his observations are mainly based on hypothetical inferences and have not yet been accepted by other scholars.

28. B. M. Barua, *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 303-14.

29. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.

Sangharama[30] have brought to light a number of coins of the later Satavahanas, which indicate that there was a period of Andhra-Satavahana contact in Kalinga. The conflict of Kalinga with the Satavahanas dates from the reigns of Kharavela and Satakarni I. The history of Kalinga after Kharavela is obscure and it is possible that this conflict ended with the fall of Kharavela's dynasty and his empire in the time of Satakarni II.

Some scholars would read a passage in the Hatigumpha inscription as *Yavana-raja Dimita*. The reading *Dimita* is, however, doubtful and Dr. B. M. Barua rejects it altogether.[31] From the chronology of Kharavela, as we have tried to ascertain above, it appears that the *Yavana raja* mentioned in the inscription might possiblly refer to the Bactro-Greek king Demetrios, son of Euthydemos, who was possibly the Yavana invader of Saketa and Madhyamika referred to in the *Mahabhasya* of Patanjali.[32]

It is not impossible that Kharavela of Kalinga also took a conspicuous part in repelling the Yavana menace. It may be noted that the *Yugapurana* section of the *Gargi-samhita* speaks about a Yavana expedition to Mathura, and it is significant that the Hatigumpha inscription mentions Yavana-raja along with Mathura.

Our above view about the date of Kharavela has been criticised by several scholars. One criticism is that the Hatigumpha inscription on palaeographical grounds seems to belong to the first century B. C and not the second century B. C. We have however given the view of the eminent epigraphists like Buhler and others that the epigraph can be assigned to the second century B. C. on palaeographical grounds. Palaeography is a variable factor and dates given to the epigraphs or the rulers on its sole evidence admit of wide divergence. With palaeography as the sole basis of the date, the date of the great Kushana ruler Kanishka I has been allowed to vary from the first century B. C. to the third century A. D. It has been maintained by some scholars that the use of the *kavya* style in the Hatigumpha *prasasti* is an indication of its late date. It is however to be remembered that only the Asokan inscriptions are earlier to Kharâvela's *prasasti*. Asoka's inscriptions have been couched in

30. *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1949, p. 51.

31. *Old Brahmi Inscriptions*, pp. 18, fns, 16 and 17
Dr. Barua also says that the fifth letter of the reading *Yavana-raja* is distinctly da and not ja. Dr. D. C. Sircar, however, maintains that the reading *Javana-raja* is clear but *Dimita* or *Dimita* is doubtful, Select Inscriptions, Vol. I, p. 208, fn.

32. R. C. Mazumdar, *History and Culture of the Indian people: The Age of Imperial Unity*, Vol II, pp. 106-7.

the words of the emperor himself and the use of *kavya* style in them was precluded by this fact. We have thus no evidence to show that the *kavya* style was not in use in the *prasastis* of the monarchs earlier than Kharavela. Dr. N. K. Sahu, has criticised the present writer for his having adopted the reading *ti-vasa-sata* which, he says, was conjectural reading of Dr. B. M. Barua. Dr. Sahu himself has made a number of conjectural readings. Brushing aside the earlier readings of the great scholars, epigraphists and experts in the Pali language who have worked on it for over a century, Dr. Sahu through his numerous conjectural readings and restorations has thoroughly changed the contents of the Hatigumpha inscription. What is surprising is that he has given his new readings in a text published in a work of general history and not in any antiquarian journal. The reading *ti-vasa-sata* has been interpreted by several scholars as meaning 103 and not 300. So, even if Dr. Barua's reading *satadasa-lena-sata* is not accepted, the validity of the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* as 103 cannot be questioned. Another point which has been objected to by some scholars is that, we following Dr. B. M. Barua, have identified Nanda Raja of the Hatigumpha inscription with Asoka. No scholar has however shown that in the contemporary or the earlier records the dynasty established by Chandragupta was known as the Maurya dynasty. The fact seems to be that the so called Maurya dynasty was a continuation of the Nanda dynasty. Scholars objecting to our identification of Brihaspati of the *Divyavadana* with Bahasatimita have not explained why Pushyamitra Sunga has been styled as *senapati* in all records from which we know him.

We have presented our view about date of Kharavela but have claimed no finality in it. As we have observed earlier, the date of this Chedi monarch will continue to be controversial so long any other corroborative evidence has not been discovered.



4. Kalinga after Kharavela

The history of Kalinga after Kharavela is obscure and we do not know what happened to his dynasty or his empire. It is however very unlikely that a vast empire built by the genius of Kharavela would have lost its existence all on a sudden. We have given the names of two of his probable successors who might have ruled after him a part of his empire, though not the whole of it. Recently an inscription discovered at Guntupally in the West Godavari district, has been edited by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam and published by Andhra Pradesh Government in its epigraphical series No. 3, Hyderabad, 1968. It records the gift of a *mandapa* by the recorder of the royal messages of *Maharaja Kalingadhipati Mahamekhavahana* (i.e. *Mahameghavahana*) who was also the lord of Mahishaka. Dr. Subrahmanyam identifies this monarch with Kharavela but Dr. D. C. Sircar amends his reading and says that the inscription records the gift of a *mandapa* by one Chula-Goma, the scribe of one *Mahameghavahana Maharaja* Sada, the lord of Kalinga and Mahishaka (*The Early History of Kalinga* by Dr. D. Das, pp. 79-80). Dr. Sircar's reading seems to be correct and it indicates the extension of the Chedi power to the Andhra country even after the death of Kharavela. In all probability the empire built by him did not break up after his death, but we cannot say when exactly it came to an end.

With regard to the dark period that followed the end of Kharavela's dynasty, Prof. R. D. Banerjee has observed that no history, political or cultural, is available for 800 years till we come to the seventh century A.D. With materials that have recently been discovered we shall however try to have a glimpse into this dark period of Orissan history.

A PERIOD OF ANDHRA SUPREMACY

We have stated earlier that later Andhra Satavahana coins have been discovered at Sisupalagarh, Salihundam, Ramatirtham and Sangharama. The *yaksha* immages of the Sanchi type, as has already been observed, are to be found on the sculptures of the Udayagiri. Since Sanchi was under the Andhra Satavahana rule during the reign of Satakarni II, we may conclude that there was a period of Andhra

Satavahana contact with Orissa, which was perhaps one of the political type. Since the mount Mahendra situated in Kalinga, has found place in the list of the mountains of which Gautamiputra Satakarni is stated to have been the lord, it may not be unreasonable to infer that there was a period of Andhra Satavahana supremacy in Orissa and this supremacy begun with the fall of Kharavela's dynasty and ended in about third century A.D.

A PERIOD OF MURUNDA SUPREMACY

The period intervening between the end of the Imperial Kushana dynasty and the rise of the Imperial Guptas, is the darkest period of Indian history. The same darkness also envelopes the history of Orissa. From the last occupation levels of Sisupalagarh (*c.* A.D. 200—A.D. 300) some so called Puri Kushana coins were discovered[1], which have also been found from a number of places in Orissa. The crude human figures that appear on them are certainly the imitations of the figures of kings found on the imperial Kushana coins, but they have been assigned to a period when the Kushana empire had become a thing of the past. A gold coin found from the Sisupalagarh excavation also clearly imitates a coin-type of Vasudeva I on the obverse and bears a Roman head on the reverse.[2] The legend on the coin has been read and restored by Dr. Altekar as *Maharajadhasa Dharmadamadharasa* which was intended to stand for *Maharaja-rajadhiraja Dharmadamadharasya*. Dr. Altekar assigns it to the third century A.D. and thinks that the king *Dharmadamadhara* of the coin was a Murunda king ruling a part of Bihar and Orissa with his capital at Pataliputra. Such an inference has been based by him both on the literary evidence and the evidence supplied by the coin itself. The Murundas, like the Kushanas, were foreigners hailing from the north-west and would have liked to imitate Kushana coin-types and the imperial Kushana title *Maharaja-rajadhiraja*. The existence of a Murunda ruling family at Pataliputra is suggested by the *Brihatkalpavriti*

1. These coins have been found from Puri, Ganjam, Balassore, Mayurbhanja and Keonjhar districts of Orissa and from Singhbum district of Bihar. See Mr. R. D. Banerji's *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p, III and T. N. Ramachandran's *Find of Tempera Painting in Sitabhiniji, District Keonjhar*, Orissa, in *Artibus Asiae*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 22 ff, Plate VII, V.A. Smith assigns them to the fourth or the fifth century A. D., *Catalogue of the Coins of the India Museum*, Vol. I, p. 64-5. Some specimens bear the legend *tanka* in the characters of the 8th century. So it seems that though this currency originated in the fourth or the fifth century, it continued to be used up to a very late date. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. III-12.
2. *Ancient India*, No. 5, p. 97.

of the Jainas, quoted in the *Abhidhana-rajendra*,* which refers to a widow of a Murunda king of Pataliputra as having accepted the Jaina gospel. The Jaina tradition is further supported by the *Puranas* which vaguely refer to thirteen Murunda kings as ruling in the post-Andhra and pre-Gupta period.

Dr. Altekar's inference is somewhat corroborated by a Buddhist tradition recorded in the *Dathavamsa*, edited and translated by Dr. B. C. Law. The work professes to deal with the history of the tooth relic of the Buddha, which can be summarized as follows :

After the division of the remains of the Buddha's dead body, the left tooth relic was taken by Khema and was given to Brahmadatta, king of Kalinga, who erected a *chaitya* over it. Brahmadatta's son Kasiraja, his grandson Sunanda and his great grandson Guhasiva who successively ruled after him, each erected a *chaitya* and worshipped the same relic. The last successor, Guhasiva, drove out all *Niganthas* (the Jainas) from his kingdom, who appealed to king Pandu of Pataliputra who was then a very powerful king of Jambudvipa. Since Guhasiva was a subordinate ruler, he was summoned by king Pandu to appear before him with the tooth relic, which he did. After having seen many a miracle performed by the tooth relic, the king of Pataliputra, advised by his minister Chaitanya, gave up the false belief and received the tooth relic with great pomp. King Guhasiva also became his great friend. The remaining part of the story relates how Dantakumara, prince of Ujjain, after having married the daughter of Guhasiva, ultimately took the tooth relic to Ceylon.

Since the story of the tooth relic is represented to have been originally written in ancient Ceylonese in about A.D. 310 before it was rendered into Pali in the thirteenth century, the tradition recorded in it could not have referred to events later than the third century A.D. That all the persons connected with the tradition are not fictitious, is proved by the tastimony of the *Puranas* which mention Guha or Guhas as ruling over Kalinga and Mahishya. The name Guha or Guhasiva also seems to have been connected with a place mentioned as Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka in the Bhauma copper plate grants. The Jaina tradition represents the widow of a Murunda king of Pataliputra as having accepted the Jaina gospel; the Budhist tradition recorded in the *Dathavamsa* also represents king Pandu of Pataliputra as a Jaina, or else the Jainas oppressed by Guhasiva would not have gone to him for cedrees of their grievanre or the tooth relic carried to Pataliputra would

not have been put to tests. Dr. Altekar suggests that Dharmadamadhara of the gold coin might have been a Murunda king ruling over a portion of Bihar and Orissa. Piecing these bits of facts together, we may conclude that Orissa was perhaps under the supremacy of the Murundas who were responsible for the currency in Orissa of the coins that have distinctly imitated the Kushana coin types.

To this period belongs the Bhadrakh Inscription which was first edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar, in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p. 169 ff, and next by the present writer in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 327. The purport of the inscription is that, in the 8th regnal year of Maharaja Surasarma a pious lady named Ranghali donated some objects to the goddess Parnadevadi (Parnnadevati) by a special arrangement with Mahakulapati Agisarma (Agnisarma). The inscription on palaeographical grounds has been assigned to the 3rd century A. D. and it throws some sidelight on the darkest period of the Orissa history. This record is, in point of antiquity, only next to the inscriptions of Kharavela and of his supposed successors in the Udayagiri caves. Surasarma, as his title indicates, appears to have been a local ruler holding a subordinate rank under a sovereign power. The Murundas of Pataliputra appear to have been his overlord.

The continued use of the imitated Kushana coins in all parts of Orissa during the period from the 4th contury A. D. to the 8th century A. D. has led the scholars to suppose a period of the Kushana or the Murunda rule in Orissa, or else there is hardly any definite evidence to prove such a period of foreign supremacy in this country. The imitated Kushana coins were first discovered in Puri, and so they were conveniently termed as the Puri Kushana coins, but their subsequent discovery from all parts of Orissa has now changed this term. Prof. R. D. Banerji postulates a period of the Kushana supremacy in Orissa on the besis of these coins, and connects their invasion with the so-called Raktavahu invasion recorded in the *Madala Panji*, the chronicle of the temple of Jagannatha at Puri. But this tradition appears to be very late, as in the *Panji* there is hardly any tradition which takes us back to a period earlier than the Bhauma supremacy in Orissa in the 8th century A. D. The so-called Raktavahu invasion cannot therefore be connected with the Kushana invasion, for which we do not find any historical data. As has been observed earlier, the imitated Kushana coins came to be used in Orissa when the Kushana empire was a thing of the past. If a foreign rule in Orissa at the stage of her history is to be inferred from these coins, it should be connected with the Murundas who were an allied tribe

of the Kushanas. Nothing can however be said with certainty when this foreign rule in Orissa was started and when it ended.

The Gupta Age in Orissa :

Samudragupta during his southern campaigns conquered south Kosala (the upper Mahanadi valley), and Mahakantara and vanquished several southern kings, of whom the territories of Svamidatta of Kottura, Damana of Erandapalle and Kuvera of Devarashtra most likely lay in Kalinga. Kottura, Erandapalle and Devarashtra have been identified with the places in the Ganjam district and the adjoining Telugu-speaking tract. This means that Samudragupta's conquests affected only the southern fringe of Orissa. It is not known why Samudragupta for his southern campaigns did not proceed through the comparatively easy tracts of the present Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts, but chose to lead his army through the difficult forest-clad routes of Mahakosala and Mahakantara. Mahakosala represented at this time the vast hilly and forest-clad tracts of the upper Mahanadi valley and the Chhatisgarh region. Mahakantara was an ill-defined area literally meaning the great forest country, which has been identified by some scholars with the modern Kalahandi, Kotaput and Bastar districts. Samudragupta ultimately reached the coastal strip of Orissa through these difficult routes and vanquished the above mentioned kings along with other southern monarchs who probably formed a confederacy with Vishnugopa of Kanchi as their leader. The advance of the Gupta emperor appears to have stopped on the bank of the river Krishna. The Allahabad *prasasti* of Samudragupta states in no uncertain terms that the Gupta emperor, after receiving presents from the vanquished kings, liberated them and restored their kingdoms to them. The emperor thus did not bring these territories under his direct rule. Samudragupta's invasion was a passing show and it did not affect the political condition of Kalinga, though it appears to have brought this country into the cultural orbit of the Gupta empire.

After the death of Samudragupta about A.D. 380 there is hardly any direct evidence to show the relation of Orissa with the Gupta empire. We however find the use of the Gupta era in several Orissan copper plate grants. The Sumandala copper plate grant of Prithivi-vigraha is dated in the Gupta year 250 (A.D. 569—70) and its donor Maharaja Dharmaraja who was apparently a subordinate chief under Prithivi-vigraha ruled from Padmakholi near Khallikote. The second grant dated in 200 Gupta era, is that of Lokavigraha and the third grant is that of Madhavaraja II of the Sailodbhava dynasty dated in the Gupta year 300

A.D. 619. The Gupta era appears to have been used in the copper plate grants of Sambhuyasa, which have been dated in the years 260 and 283 of an unspecified era. The unspecified era used in the Soro copper plates has also been referred to the Gupta era by some scholars. The use of the Gupta era in the Orissan inscriptions has led scholars like Dr. D. C. Sircar to think that Orissa was within the orbit of the Gupta empire. Since Prithivivigraha and Lokavigraha appear as overlords in the first two charters, mentioned above, it is just likely that they were the Viceroys of the Gupta emperors, who were virtually independent, but still acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta empire, then crumbling to pieces. Dr. N. K. Sahu, does not however accept this position and thinks that Orissa never acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta empire. His main argument is that the Mathara dynasty of Kalinga was, at this period, very powerful and in their copper plate grants the Mathara kings have not acknowledged the supremacy of the Guptas. The dates of the Mathara kings and the extent of their supremacy in Orissa are as uncertain as the Gupta rule in Orissa, and they will continue to be so till further discoveries.

The Orissan sculptures which bear Gupta and post-Gupta characteristics will be discussed in a subsequent chapter. The epigraphic records which can be assigned to this age, are rare in their occurrence in Orissa, but scholars have assigned a few such records to be found at Sitabhinji in the Keonjhar district to this age. Dengaposi and Sitabhinji, the two neighbouring village, contain a number of natural rock shelters in the hills, which attracted the Saiva ascetics. That these shelters were the abodes of the ascetics in the 4th or the 5th century A.D. is proved by several rock inscriptions, one of which reads as *Purudhasa Chhichha Maruta* i. e., Maruta the disciple of Purudha. The rock containing this inscription was taken to the palace of Raja of Keonjhar and it is probably still there. In 1938 the late Pandit Binayak Mishra and the present writer first published an account of the archaeological remains of these places in the *Modern Review*. March, 1938. Subsequently Mr. T. N. Ramachandran made a systematic study of them and published an illuminating article entitled *Find of Tempera Painting in Sitabhinji, District Keonjhar Orissa*, in *Artibus Asiae*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 5-25.

The main antiquities of these places are a tempera painting on the ceiling of a rock known as Ravanachhaya, a Mukhalingam and a number of short rock inscriptions. The tempera painting represents a royal

procession in which a royal figure, seated on elephant with a goad in his hand, is preceded by a batch of footmen, one horseman and a dancing woman, and followed by an attendant woman. There is a line of painted writing below the scene which gives the name of the king as "Maharaja Sri Disabhanja.," With regard to the age of this writing Dr. R. C. Majumdar makes the following observation :

"Mr. T. Ramachandran, from whose account the above description is quoted, refers the inscription to the fourth century A.D. and says that this date is "corroborated by an ensemble of evidence furnished by other associative antiquities."

"Dr. D. C. Sircar, on the other hand, thinks that the characters of the epigraph belong to a much later date, between the eighth and eleventh centuries A. D.

"There is no doubt that the Orissan inscriptions, even of the same king, employ a variety of scripts, so that palaeography is a very uncertain factor in determining chronology. This is amply illustrated by the widely differing views about the dates of Kara, Sailodbhava and Bhanja kings. Nevertheless, it has to be admitted that the characters of the short record at Sitabhinji can by no means be regarded as later than those of the characters of the early kings of Kalinga who have been unanimously referred to the fifth century A.D. Dr. D. C. Sircar's proposed identification of Disabhañja of the Sitabhinji record with the king Digbhanja-Disabhanja (No. VII) mentioned above, cannot therefore be upheld, and until more definite evidence is available. Disabhanja of Sitabhinji may justly be regarded as the earliest Bhanja king who flourished in the fourth or fifth century A.D. The painted scene and the locality seem to indicate that he was a powerful ruler whose kingdom included the Keonjhar State. If we accept this view' we may well believe that the Bhanjas had been ruling in Orissa almost continuously since the fourth or fifth century A.D., though their power and status must have varied in different ages. The territory called Bhanjabhumi or Bhanjbhum, which includes the present Mayurbhanj, was evidently named after the Bhanjas".

We accept the views of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. R. C. Majumdar about the age of the painting which was certainly a creation of the Imperial Gupta age. The other notable antiquity of the place, the *Mukhlaingam,* which is still to be found there, bears the characterstics of the early Gupta age. The palaeography of the short rock inscriptions and some terracotta objects published by Mr. Ramachandran, also point

to rhe same conclusion. Therefore, the archaeological remains of the places were no doubt the creations of the Imperial Gupta age, though they do not furnish us with any evidence that keonjhar or any part of Orissa was under the Gupta rule.

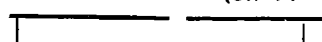
A line of inscription to be found on the forepart of a colossal lion figure discovered by the present writer from near the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhubaneswar, can also be palaeographically assigned to the Gupta age when there was a conflict between the Buddhists and the Saivas as result of which the Asokan pillar was converted into a Siva *lingam*. The late Mr. R. Chanda discovered a fragmentary stone inscription from the Ratnagiri in the Cuttack district, which is in cursive Gupta script assigned by the discoverer to the fifth-sixth century A.D. These are the only objects which can be connected with the Gupta age in Orissa.

MATHARAS

Some copper plate records vouchsafe the existence of two or three royal dynasties ruling in Kalinga while the Guptas were ruling in the north as an imperial power. They are known as Matharas, Pitribhaktas and Vasishthas. Dr. D. C. Sircar thinks that they were three distinct dynasties, while Dr. N. K. Sahu and Dr. D. Das reduce them into two *viz.* the Matharas and Vasishthas. They think that the term *pitribhakta* was merely a qualifying term of the rulers. Mr.S.N. Rajaguru amalgamates them all into one dynasty. We accept the latest view of Dr. Sahu and Dr. Das and come to the conclusion that they belonged to only two dynasties, *viz.* the Matharas and the Vasishthas.

The palaeography of their inscriptions is the sole evidence of their chronology and palaeography, as illustrated in the case of Maharaja Disabhanja of the Sitabhinji epigraph, admits of wide divergence of opinions, involving not a few years, but several centuries. The chronology of the Matharas cannot be accurately determined. We give below their tentative genealogy and chronology as worked out by Dr. Sahu.

1. Visakhavarman (*cir.* A.D. 350—360)



2. Umavarman (*cir.* A.D. 360-395) 3. Sankaravarman (*cir.* A.D. 395-400)

4. Saktivarman (*cir.* A.D. 400-20)



5. Ananta Saktivarman (*cir.* A.D. 420-450)

6. Chandravarman (*cir.* A.D. 450-460)

7. Prabhanjanavarman (*cir.* A.D. 460-30)

8. Nanda Prabhanjana varman (*cir.* A.D.480-498)

The Matharas changed their capital from time to time and we know from their records the names of five such capitals situated at Sripura, Sunagara, Vardhamanapura, Singhpura and Pishtapur, all situated in the present Ganjam, Srikakulam and Vaizagapatanam districts. In one of the epigraphic records of this dynasty it is claimed that Saktivarman extended his territories from the Mahanadi in the north to the rivers Krishna in the south, and this appears to be greatest extent of their kingdom. It is however to be noted that no other evidence or monument has yet been discovered which can prove a period of Mathara rule in Orissa proper. Their power mostly remained confined between the southern part of Orissa and the river Godavari. Of late too much importance has been attached to this dynasty by some local historians, though the achievements of the individual rulers of this dynasty have not been shown by any one of them. The mere mention of their copper plates and coins and discussions of the controversies connected with them, cannot constitute their history.

In the Allahabad *prasasti* of Samudragupta who carried his victorious arms at least upto the river Krishna, no mention is made of any of the Mathara kings known from the copper plate records. This indicates that the dynasty had not come into existence before Samudragupta's southern campaigns. The Matharas have not acknowledged the overlordship of the Gupta power or any other power. Apparently they were all independent kings. The dynasty appears to have been put to an end by the Vishnukundins of the south and the Gangas of Svetaka in the Ganjam district. A hoard of copper coins discovered at the village Nanduru near Gandibedha in the Balasore district, bear on them the legend *Sunandasya.* Mr. S. N. Rajaguru thinks that Sunanda was a Mathara king and Dr. N. K. Sahu takes the name to be that of a Mana king. Since the king Sunanda does not appear in the epigraphic records of the Matharas or the Manas, his identification with a king of any of these dynasties is untenable. As we have stated earlier, a period of Mathara rule in Orissa proper has yet to be placed on surer evidences. The Mathara rule affected only a portion of south Orissa.

THE NALAS

Dr. N. K. Sahu has worked out the following tentative chronology and the genealogy of this dynasty :

Brishadhvaja	(*cir.* A.D. 400)
Varaharaja	(upto *cir.* A.D. 440)
Bhavadatavarman	(*cir.* A.D. 440 to 465)
Arthapatiraja	(*cir.* A.D. 465 to 475)
Skandavarman	(*cir.* A.D. 475 to 500)
Prithviraja	
Viruparaja	
Vilasatunga	(*cir.* A.D. 700)

The Nalas originally ruled over a territory now represented by the Koraput district of Orissa and the Bastar district of Madhya Pradesh with their capital at Pushkari identified with Podagadh in the old Jeypore State (Koraput district). At the height of their power their kingdom included a vast tract apparently stretching from the river Wain Ganga in the west to the Indravati river in the south and from the Eastern Ghats in the east to the Mukhalingam region in the north. Their inscriptions and coins indicate that they were an Independent power, occasionally coming into conflict with the Chalukyas of Vengi and the Vakatakas of modern Madhya Pradesh. It is not known how their power declined, but their latest existence can be traced from a few inscriptions from which it appears that they ruled over a small territory in the Chhatisgarh and Raipur-Bilaspur region of modern Madhya Pradesh. The achievements of the individual rulers of the dynasty cannot be ascertained from their records, but this does not mean that they had no achievements.

THE EARLY GANGAS OF KALINGA

The Classical Age (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) gives the following genealogy of the Eastern Gangas :—

1. Indravarman I
2. Hastivarman, Rajasimha, Ranabhita
3. Indravarman II, Rajasimha
4. Indravarman III

Danarnava

5. Indravarman-IV

Gunarnava

6. Devendravarman
7. Anantavarman

8. Nandavarman (Indravarman) 9. Devendravarman II

In the numerous copper plate records of these kings the Ganga era has been used, but there is still a dispute among the scholars about the exact date of the Christian year from which the era started. A.D. 496 has however been generally accepted as its initial year. The dates that have been found from the various inscriptions of this dynasty commence from A.D. 496 and end in the middle of the eighth century A. D. Their capital was Kalinganagara identified with modern Mukhalingam in Srikakulam district and they had probably a secondary capital at Dantapura identified by some scholars with Dantavaktra near Srikakulam in the same district. The y are found in their inscriptions with the title *Trikalingadhipati*, but the identification of Trikalinga is still a matter of controversy. Dr. D. C. Sircar suggests that "Trikalinga was a country of forest between the domains of the later Chalukyas of Vengi and those of the Gangas of Kalinganagara, probably lying to the south of *Dakshina* Kosala and not very far from Mahendragiri. The fact that some powerful rulers of Kalinganagara and of south Kosala preferred to call themselves *Trikalingadhipati* suggests that the expression often indicated lordship over wide regions of ancient Kalinga or several countries in the Kalinga region." Though some of these kings appears to have been very powerful ruling over an extensive kingdom, their achievements are not clear from their records.

The Gangas of Svetaka appear to have been a branch of Early Gangas of Kalinga and they too were the worshippers of Gokarnnesvara enshrined on the top of the Mahendra mountain. Their exact relationship with the Gangas of Kalinga is not known, but some scholars hold that they enjoyed a semi-independent status under the main dynasty. Their capital Svetaka has been identified with modern Chikiti in the Ganjam district. The earliest king of the dynasty was Maharaja Jayavarman. The Svetaka branch of the Gangas continued to rule in the Ganjam area up to a late date.

THE MANAS

A king named Sambhuyasas bearing the full sovereign titles *Paramamahesvara Paramabhattaraka Paramadevatadhidaivata* appears in two of the copper plate records discovered in Orissa and claims his origin from the Mana dynasty. These copper plates bear the dates 260 and 283 which have been referred to various eras by scholars but the latest view is that they have been recorded in the Gupta era commencing from A.D. 319. We thus find that between A.D. 580 and 603 this powerful Mana king was ruling over a vast territory stretching from Balasore

to Puri district. His feudatory was Maharaja Sivaraja, the donor of the above mentioned charters.

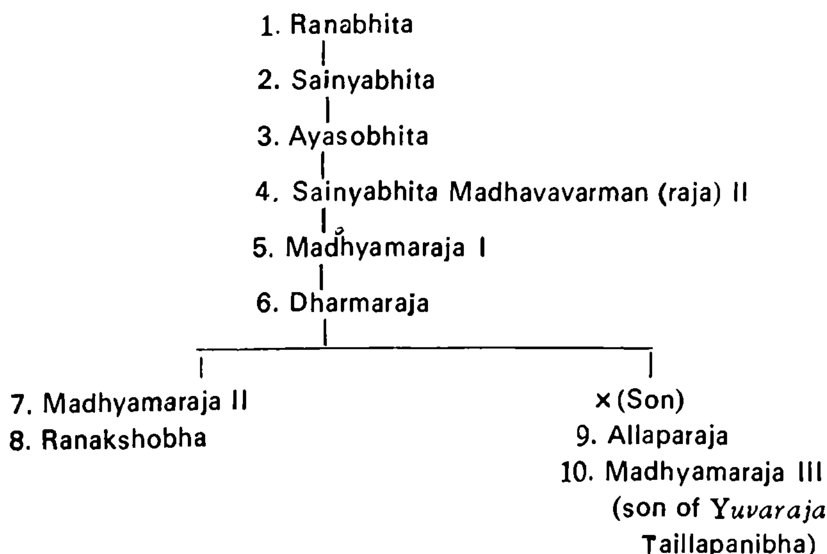
The existence of a Mana dynasty to which Sambhuyasas claims to have belonged, is proved by an inscription discovered in the Hazaribag district of Bihar. The family was originally a merchant family, ruling over a small principality in the hilly region between Gaya and Midnapur districts. It is stated in the above inscription that Udayamana became the first ruler of the dynasty through the favour of king Adisimha of Magadha. It may be that king Sambhuyasas belonged to the Mana ruling family of Gaya, but his exact relationship with this family is not known.

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5. The Sailodbhavas

The foregoing narrative given in Chapter-4 will give an idea that the history of Orissa between the fall of the Kharavela's dynasty and the seventh century A. D. is a hazy and confused one. However, with the advent of the seventh century A.D. the history of Orissa emerges from darkness to light. From this date to the end of the Hindu rule in Orissa in the sixteenth century A. D., the succession of the royal dynasties in Orissa can now be presented with more or less accuracy. The first of such dynasties is the Sailodbhava dynasty, ruling over Kongoda roughly comprising the present Ganjam and Puri districts. Their genealogy and chronology have not yet been fully constructed, but we adopt here the latest genealogy as given by Dr. D .K. Ganguly :



In the Soilodbhava inscriptions it is stated that there was a person named Pulindasena famous among the peoples of Kalinga. He worshipped Brahma who created the lord Sailobdhava and it is Sailodbhava who became the founder of the dynasty. The name Sailodbhava literally means one who was born from a rock or a mountain, and this has led some scholars to think that Sailodbhavas were a branch of the

Ganga family. It may be noted that the river Ganga takes its rise from the mountain Himalayas. Other scholars think that they were probably a branch of the Saila dynasty ruling over a part of modern Madhya Pradesh. The origin of the Sailodbhava is thus obscure and it may be that they were a family originally living in the hills of the Ganjam district.

Hardly anything is known about the first three members of the dynasty, but we know something of the fourth member, Sainyabhita Madhavavarman (raja) II, generally mentioned by scholars as Madhava-raja II. In his Ganjam plates dated in Gupta era 300,(A.D. 619) it is clearly stated that his overlord was *Maharajadhiraja* Sasanka who can be no other than king Sasanka of Gauda, the rival of the emperor Harsha-vardhana.

We do not know when Sasanka established his overlordship over Kongoda, and when it ended or when he was ousted from Orissa. All that is known for certain is that he was the overlord of Kongoda till A. D. 619-20. The Midnapore copper plates and the Soro copper plates prove that his governors were ruling in the Midnapore and Balasore districts, and a tradition recorded in the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied Sanskrit works which profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from orthodox standpoint, indicates that he built a temple at Bhubaneswar and the Ganjam plate of Madhavaraja proves that he was the overlord of Kongoda at least upto A. D. 619 and possibly remained so till his death. Therefore there can be no reasonable doubt that Sasanka was the master of the whole of Orissa. We do not know when he died, but the accounts of Yuan Chwang show that by the time he visited Magadha in A.D. 639 Sasanka must have been dead. The Chinese piligrim mentions the destruction of the *Bodhi* tree at Buddhagaya by Sasanka and tells us that as a result of this sin the Gauda king died. It is just probable that Sasanka retained his hold over Orissa till his death and only after his death Harshavardhana undertook an expedition to Kongoda in A. D. 643. Prof. R. D. Banerji observes that the adherence of the Sailodbhava king to Sasanka was so strong that Harshavadhana had to undertake another campaign in Kongoda after Sasanka's death and had to spend a long time in Orissa. Harsha's campaign in Orissa and Kongoda was however directed more against the Chalukya king Pulakesin II than against the Sailodbhava ruler, because the former was approaching northwards along the eastern coast and had already conquered southern Kosala and Kalinga before A. D. 634 as is evident from the Aihole inscription.

Orissa thus became a bone of contention among the three great political powers of India in the first half of the 7th century A. D. Sasanka

and Harshavardhana each kept Orissa in his subjugation for a while, but the exact period of their subjugation cannot be determined. Harshavardhana undertook his campaign in Orissa at the fag end of his reign and therefore there is no reason to think that Orissa was under him for long. He died in A.D. 647 and therefore with his death his supremacy in Orissa must have ended. The Chalukya king Pulakesin II, as already pointed out, was also in the race for the occupation of Orissa, but it is not certain whether he ever established his sway in any part of it. Certain traditions and monuments of Orissa still existing, however, indicate that Chalukyas exerted their influence over this country.

The Sailodbhava dynasty was no doubt under the suzerainty of the foreign powers, but it is not known how many rulers of the dynasty had remained under foreign domination. Madhavaraja II's later charters issued after his Ganjam plates of A.D. 619, indicate that he had become independent, because in these later charters he makes no reference to Sasanka or any other power as his overlord. Apparently the Sailodbhava dynasty regained their independence soon after the death of Harshavardhana in A.D. 647. Since scholars like Dr. D. K. Ganguly assign Madhavaraja II a reign of about 50 years, it is just likely that Kongoda became free during his long reign.

In some copper plates of the dynasty there is a reference to a succession dispute which Prof. R. D. Banerjee writes in the following words:

"It is stated in the 16th verse that Dharamaraja, having succeeded to the kingdom by the right of primogeniture, banished a person named Madhava from the kingdom after defeating him in a battle at a place called Phasika. The baffled Madhava sought shelter with a king named Tivara and both of them were again defeated at the foot of the Vindhyas."

The identification of Tivara who was an adversary of Dharmaraja has been a matter of dispute. Mr. S. N. Rajguru identified him with Mahasiva Tivaradeva, the famous Panduvamsi king of *Dakshina* Kosala, but the date of this Panduvamsi king is also a matter of controversy. Some scholars assign him to the 6th, some to the 7th and some to the 8th century A.D. The latest view expressed by Dr. D. K. Ganguly places him in the middle of the sixth century A.D. Madhyamaraja, the successor of Madhavaraja II, could not have ruled over Kongoda in the sixth century A.D. because of the fact that the Ganjam plate of Madhavaraja II clearly proves that he was ruling in A. D. 619. Tivaradeva of the Sailodbhava

records cannot therefore be identified with the Panduvamsi king Tivaradeva. His proper identification must await further discoveries.

Some members of the family after Madhavaraja II claim in their copper plate grants to have performed *Asvamedha* and *Bajapeya* sacrifices and this fact indicates that they were powerful monarchs. But the events that took place in their reigns are hardly known to us. Yuan Chwang's accounts indicate that Kongoda was a powerful kingdom at the time of his visit and this shows that the later kings of the dynasty continued to be very powerful and maintained the earlier prestige and the extent of the kingdom. It is not known how their supremacy in Kongoda ended. As will be shown later, it was the Bhauma-Karas who were probably responsible for the destruction of their kingdom.

Certain traditions about Sasanka, Pulakesin II and Bhaskaravarman of Assam are found embodied in the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied Sanskrit works which profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox standpoint. We do not consider these traditions as correct historical facts, but we produce their summaries which may prove helpful in future investigations.

Chapter 13 of the *Ekamra Purana* gives a conversation between Siva and Brahma in the *Satya* Age, in which the latter expresses his desire to build a temple for the former, but Siva chooses to remain in open ground and says :

"With the coming of the *Kali* Age, Chandra will go to the earth and having become the lord of men (the king) he will worship the *lingam.*"

"He, who is of good determination, will cause a beautiful, white and purifying stone temple to be erected and a great worship performed."

"He, who is famous, well-known, and engaged in the daily worship of Siva, will establish this *lingam* of Tribhuvanesvara in accordance with my command."

"O Brahman, you know me to be this stone *lingam* that can neither be seen nor touched."

"Sasanka with his heart attached to Siva will be infinitely intelligent and will worship with diligence all the *lingams* that exist on the earth."

"O Vivudhesvara (Brahma), (Sasanka's) temple (*kirtti*) will endure (lit. remain unhurt) in this world. O Pitamaha, it is difficult (for you) to do (i. e., to construct a temple for me); (so) your efforts are useless."

In Chapter 48 of the same work, Siva in course of his conversation with the Balakhilyas speaks as follows :

"When one quarter of the *Kali* Age has passed away, Chandrama will go to the earth."

"My devotee Sasanka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed on none (except on me), will rule a portion of the earth extending upto Kalinga."

"According to my command, he will construct a massive and beautiful temple, hearing the voice of the gods. O the best of ascetics, you have (now) heard (this all) well."

Again in Chapter 50 of the same *Ekamra Purana* we find a reference to Sasanka. Rama, son of Dasaratha of Ayodhya, desirous of building a temple for Siva, wanted to fix up a site in Ekamra. To aquaint him with the situation, Vasishtha speaks as follows :

"O King, the past tradition is that Sasanka will cause it to be done."

"When the high-souled Vasistha was speaking this, an invisible voice descended from the sky (which spoke thus):"

"O, Rama, the long-armed Rama, the promoter of the pleasure of the gods and the expert in the knowledge of the worship of Siva, please hear my best words. Chandrama dropped down from (my) crown will not soon go to the earth."

In Chapter 10 of the *Svarnnadri Mahodaya*, when Brahma expresses his desire to build a temple for Siva, the latter directs him to build it at the site now represented by the Brahmesvara temple, but reserves his own site (the site of Tribhuvanesvara) and speaks as follows :

"It will not be done by your hand; in the *Kali* Age Chandra will do it."

In Chapter 9 of the *Ekamra Chandrika*, the same tradition is recorded as follows :

"Do not build the temple here; in the *Kali* Age Chandra will do it."

In Chapter 16 of the *Kapila Samhita* also, Lord Tribhuvanesvara is found to have made the same refusal to Himavat, the king of the mountains :

"Why have you asked for a thing which was not available to the gods such as Brahma, Vishnu, Indra, Yama and Varuna ? The temple (of mine) is impossible to be constructed; in ihe *Kali* Age Chandra will do it."

It will thus be seen that the tradition about Sasanka having built a temple in the shrine of Tribhuvanesvara is persistent in all the four Sanskrit works that profess to deal with the history of Bhubanesewar from an orthodox standpoint. If this tradition has any value, it indicates that Sasanka built a temple at Bhubaneswar which was certainly within his domain as is proved by other evidences. (*Journal of Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 114-18). We are however unable to identify the particular temple built by Sasanka at Bhubaneswar. The tradition recorded in the above works indicates that he built it in the shrine of Tribhuvanesvara or Lingaraja, but the present temple of Lingaraja is a monument of the 11th century A.D. The earlier temple of Sasanka built in this shrine is no longer in existence. Sasanka was one of the three great personalities of the age, the other two being Harshavardhana of Kanauja and Pulakesin II of the south. But, while history has done ample justice to the other two, it has been unfair to Sasanka, because it has tried to estimate his character and achievements only through the records that have emanated from his political rivals or their friends and supporters or from the sources of the Buddhists who regarded him as an enemy of their religion. His coins indicate that he was a follower of Siva and Yuan Chwang's accounts represent him as an enemy of Buddhists, who destroyed a number of famous Buddhist monuments. It seems that he played a great part in east India in the revival of Hinduism and in stamping out Buddhism. The fact that these orthodox texts containing these traditions scarcely speak of any earthly being however exalted, but speak of Sasanka in such glowing terms, goes a long way in indicating the great part that must have been played by him in the religious field of east India. It may be noted that in one of the above traditions it is clearly stated that Sasanka ruled upto Kalinga and in the light of the historical facts known to us, this Sasanka can be no other person than Sasanka of Gauda, famous in the contemporary history.

That the Chalukyas occupied Orissa for a while or were in the race for its possession, is also evident from another tradition recorded in the *Ekamra Purana*, Chapters XXXIV—XXXVII of this work record an elaborate story about the origin of the name Krittivasa and of the Devipadahara Tank which is situated in the close vicinity of the Lingaraja temple. This story can never be wholly fictitious, since the names of the persons found in it appear to be either wilful distortions or corruptions of the names of the Chalukya kings that we find from their copper plate grants. The summary of the story is as follows :

There was a king of demons named Matanga and his son was Drimila. Drimila had one hundred sons of whom Prithuloma or Prithula

was the eldest and Kirtti and Vasa were the strongest. The king Drimila propitiated the Brahmins and so they conferred on him a boon that his two sons Kirtti and Vasa would never be killed by any male human being. The eldest son Prithuloma was very religious, but Kirtti grew vicious and planned the destruction of his brothers. One day he took his brothers to a forest on the pretext of hunting wild animals, but when they grew tired, hungry and thirsty, he killed ten of them. On a second occasion he took the remaining brothers to the forest and killed ten of them. The process was repeated by him till many of his brothers were killed. When his broken-hearted mother asked him about the whereabouts of his brothers, he gave her an evasive reply. King Drimila suspected Kirtti of having killed his sons and so he ordered his army to kill him; but although two generals Ugrasarma and Kuvala fought bravely against him, they were defeated and killed by Kirtti in the fight in which he was helped by his brother Vasa. When king Drimila found his general defeated, he and his eldest son Prithuloma or Prithula pursued Kirtti and Vasa with an army and left them at a great distance from their kingdom.

Having been driven away from their father's kingdom, Kirtti and Vasa wandered here and there and at last came to Ekamra which appeared to them to be a most beautiful place. So they resided there. At the time they came to Ekamra, Parvati, according to the desire of Siva, was living in the guise of a *gopalini* (milk-maid) and was regularly worshipping the *lingam* of the Gosahasresvara shrine. The two brothers once accidentally met Gopalini and, having become charmed with her beauty wanted to make her their wife. Gopalini at once informed Siva of the evil intention of the demon brothers. Siva told her that according to the boon obtained by their father, they would not be killed by any male member and so she would render a great service to the gods, if she could kill them. He instructed her to request the brothers to carry her on their shoulders and while being carried by them, to press them to death. Siva's instructions were carried into effect and both demons died being pressed under the feet of Gopalini. Water sprang up where they died and the spot where they died is now represented by the Devipadahara Tank.

Now, many of the names given in the story sound like those of the Chalukya kings. As we have already said, the original names have either been hopelessly corrupted, or purposely distorted to suit the exigencies of a mythological story. The corrupted names of the story *viz.* Matanga, Prithuloma or Prithula, Kirtti, Vasa and Kuvala may

respectively be taken to have stood for Mangalesa, Pulakesin, Kirttivarman, Vishnuvardhana and Kubja or Kubja Vishnuvardhana. Drimila is a corruption of Dravida (Dravidian) which in a generic sense has been applied to all southerners irrespective of their race or residence. We can hardly expect from a mythological story the order or chronological seqence in which the Chalukya kings appear in their inscriptions, but these corrupted names indicate that their activities at Ekamra, when they occupied or attempted to occupy Orissa, descended to posterity as distant echoes which have formed the basis of this mythological story. The evidence of history indicates Orissa as being a centre of conflict between Harshavardhana and the Chalukyas, apparently after the death of Sasanka, and it is not impossible that the Chalukyas might have occupied the country for a time in course of the conflict.

History and traditions thus show that Orissa had became an area of conflict among the great powers of the first half of the 7th century A.D. Bhaskaravarman of Assam, who was an ally of the emperor Harshavardhana, also appears to have taken a part in this conflict. A tradition contained in the 48th chapter of the *Ekamra Purana* points to this fact. The tradition runs as follows :

Gokarna, son of the demon Gavala, advised by his priest Munjakesa, came to Ekamra to worship Siva, but having failed to see the *Svayambhu lingam*, saw a *lingam* at a place situated at a distance of one thousand cows to the north-east of the temple of Krittivasa. He immediately established it and worshipped it every day with various offerings in the morning and then went to his palace in Pragjyotishapuri every day in the afternoon. In the meanwhile another demon Susena by name, son of Drimila, came to know of it and having come to Ekamra from his home in the Vindhya mountain, worshipped the same *lingam* every day in the afternoon. Finding the offerings disturbed daily, Gokarna one day hid himself in the jungle with a great army, but Susena too was on his guard and had stationed a similar army there. So there was a great battle between them in which both the demons with their armies were annihilated. Because the *lingam* was first established by Gokarna, it came to be known as Gokarnesvara.

Although the names of the persons given are fanciful, the place names of the story indicate that the fight described was a fight between a king of Assam (Pragjyotishapuri) and a king of the Vindhya mountain. These kings in the context of the historical facts known to us, may be taken as king Bhaskaravarman of Assam, the ally of Harshavardhana,

and the Chalukya king Pulakesin II. As both the kings were hostile to Sasanka, it is no wonder that they have been described as demons in an orthodox work which has praised Sasanka so much. The word Drimila is a corruption of Dramila or Dravida.

It is clear from these traditions that the first half of the 7th century A. D. was an important epoch in the political and cultural history of Orissa. Orissa, while becoming a bone of contention among the great rival powers of the period, contributed all that was best in her culture and also received the same from other parts of India. The result of the clash of cultures is always a compromise and such a compromise was achieved in Orissa and Bhubaneswar, the hub of creative activities, bore the stamp of such a compromise on its monuments. We have however no evidence to show that except the Chalukyas, the other great powers produce any tangible cultural results. The evidence of the Chalukyan contact with Orissa is provided by the correlation to be noticed in the Kalinga and Chalukya Schools of Art and Architecture.

Years ago the late Mr. M. M. Ganguly, after a study of the temple architecture of Bhubaneswar and of Aihole in the Bijapur district of Karnataka, came to a conclusion that the Orissan art of temple building was transplanted in the Deccan as early as the fifth century A. D. at the latest, but this conclusion has been most unceremoniously criticized and rejected by Prof. R. D. Banerjee. However, more definite evidences are now forthcoming to show that, although the Chalukyas came as conquerors, they learnt much from the art and architecture of Orissa. The first of such evidences is to be found in the cave architecture of Badami (not far from Aihole) and the Udayagiri (near Bhubaneswar). Mr. Percy Brown has noticed that the "intricably carved struts made of figures riding hippographs and other compositions of similar fanciful nature" that have been supported by portico pillars of the Manchapuri *gumpha* in the Udayagiri hill, are the close prototypes of the brackets "which are a most prominent feature of the Brahmanical rock-cut temples at Badami in Dharwar, produced at least six centuries later." There can be no doubt that the Udayagiri caves being much earlier, the motifs found in them would have been borrowed by the excavators of the Badami caves, which belong to the period of the early Chalukyas as is evidenced by an inscription of Mangalesa occurring in Cave No. III there. The second definite evidence is provided by two closely similar Nataraja images. One is now housed in a small temple in the Muktesvara compound at Bhubaneswar and the other is carved in Cave No. I at Badami. The attributes they have, the manner in which

they stand, the poses that they show with their hands and feet, the clothes and ornaments that they wear and the attendants that they have by their sides, are so strikingly similar that we may conclude that one was modelled on the other. These points of correlation cannot have been merely accidental and they indicate strong contacts between the two regions.

The *Ekamra Purana*, which contained the traditions about the conflict of the contending powers in Orissa, is a Sanskrit work which must have been composed not earlier than the 14th century A.D. It contains a reference to the temple of Ananta Vasudeva built in A.D. 1278. This Sanskrit work had come to the notice of the earlier scholars since the days of Dr. R. L. Mitra and its manuscripts were preserved in the library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. The traditions contained in this work which we have discussed above, were translated into English and published with their Sanskrit texts by the present writer in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV, 1949, pp. 114, ff. As we have observed earlier, we do not take these traditions as correct historical accounts, but we are of the opinion that they will be helpful in future investigations about the parts played in Orissa by Harshavardhana, Sasanka of Gauda, the Chalukya king Pulakesin II and Bhaskaravarman of Assam.

We have no evidence to show that Sasanka's conquest of Orissa produced any tangible influence on the art and architecture of Orissa and Bengal. The fact is that, although we find a very large number of ancient monuments of Orissa which can be assigned to the 7th century A.D., the monuments of this period in Bengal are rare in their occurrence. So, a comparative study of art and architecture of both the regions is precluded by this fact. Having become an area of vast devastations in subsequent periods, Bengal has lost most of her ancient monuments, or else its proximity with Orissa would have brought about a certain correlation between the monuments of both the regions.

Sasanka's occupation of Orissa however led to the establishment of two minor ruling families in the present northern Orissa and in the adjoining Midnapore and Bankura districts, then known as Dandakabhukti. The Midnapore plate of *Sri Samanta Maharaja* Somadatta mentions the overlordship of Sasanka over Dandakabhukti. Another Midnapore plate represents *Mahapratihara* Subhakirtti as a Governor or Viceroy of Sasanka in the same territory of Dandakabhukti. Evidently Somadatta and Subhakirtti were either the feudatory chiefs under Sasanka or were the Governors appointed by him. The two Soro

plates of Bhanudatta prove that he too was a Governor or feudatory chief under Sasanka, ruling over the northern part of present Orissa, comprising the present Balasore district and the northern part of the present Cuttack district. The existence of these ruling families cannot however be traced from any subsequent records. This shows that they existed so long Sasanka's domination over Orissa continued, but when Harshavardhana conquered this country they were swept out of their existence.

YUAN CHWANG'S ACCOUNTS

About A.D. 639 Yuan Chwang visited Orissa and the neighbouring countries and left his accounts of them. His accounts clearly indicate that Orissa or Kalinga was then divided into three separate kingdoms namely U-ch'a (Odra), Kong-yu-t'o (Kongoda or Kungada) and Ki-ling-kia (Kalinga). Alongwith these three distinct territories the Chinese pilgrim also mentions Andhra and Kosala as two distinct neighbouring kingdoms. From his accounts it is apparent that Odra or Orissa included Midnapore and extended upto the Puri district in the south.

About the people of the Odra country the Chinese pilgrim says that they were tall and yellowish-black in complexion. But this does not agree with the physical features of the present Oriyas who are generally short in stature and brownish black in complexion. His remarks about language of the Odra people are that it differs from the languages of central India. This represents the truth because of the fact the regional languages of northern and eastern India actually differed from each other, even though they all originated from Sanskrit.

From the pilgrim's accounts we get an idea that majority of the people of the Odra country were Mahayana Buddhists. He tells us that the country had as many as one hundred Buddhist monasteries and about ten thousand monks. The Deva temples according to him, numbered only 50, in which the followers of different sects worshipped together. It may be noted that Yuan Chwang was a devout follower of Mahayana Buddhism and naturally he had the tendency of being more interested in Buddhism than in Brahmanical religion. Nevertheless, it is to be admitted that this period of Orissa was a period of ascendancy of Mahayana Buddhism.

The Chinese pilgrim mentions two places of Buddhist importance in the Odra country. One of them contained a famous monastery called Pu-sie-p'o-ki-li, of which the transcript is Pushpagiri and its identification is still a matter of controversy. The late Mr. R. Chanda suggested

in his *Memoirs of Archaeological Survey of India* No. 44 that Pushpagiri should be identified with the Udayagiri, Lalitgiri and Ratnagiri area of the Cuttack district. This identification has generally been accepted by many later writers and people of Orissa and at present the locality is also known as Pushpagiri. It is true that the area contains vast Buddhist ruins and even a superficial survey convinces a person that it was a great centre of Mahayana Buddhism. It is however to be noted that the area has not yet yielded any inscription which definitely gives its name as Pushpagiri. On the other hand, the recent excavations carried on by Mrs. Debala Mitra of Archaeological Survey of India in the Ratnagiri area, which resulted in the discovery of the structural remains of the *stupas* and temples along with numerous other antiquities, provided no definite evidence for its identification with Pushpagiri of Yuan Chwang's description. A number of terracotta seals were unearthed during the excavation and they were all found to have contained the legend *Sri Ratnagiri Mahavihariya Arya Bhikshusanghasya*, clearly indicating that its ancient name was Ratnagiri Mahavihara and not Pushpagiri Mahavihara. Dr. N. K. Sahu suggests that Pushpagiri Vihara of the Chinese pilgrim's description was located in the Phulbani-Ghumsur area, but there is hardly any place in Phulbani or Ghumsur with vast Buddhist remains which can justify this suggestion. The definite identification of Pushpagiri should therefore await further discoveries.

The second place of great Buddhist importance mentioned by the Chinese pilgrim is Che-li-ta-lo, of which the transcript is Charitra, identified by some scholars with Puri or the river Chitrotpala. But neither Puri nor the banks of river Chitrotpala, a branch of the Mahanadi, contain any substantial Buddhist ruins to justify their identification with Che-li-ta-lo. The Chinese pilgrim says that this town was the resting place for the sea-going traders and it contained four Buddhist *stupas* in its neighbourhood, which have not yet been located either in Puri or on the bank of the river Chitrotpala. The identification of the place is still a matter of controversy.

It would thus appear that scholars have yet been unable to identify the places of Orissa, mentioned by Yuan Chwang. It is however a fact that numerous Buddhist and Brahmanical monuments still exist in Orissa which can be assigned to the period of Yuan Chwang's visit to this country and some of them will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

From Orissa, the Chinese pilgrim proceeded to a kingdom which he calls Kon-yu-t'o identified with Kongoda which at this time was being ruled over by the Sailodbhavas and which, as we have observed earlier, comprised the present districts of Ganjam and Puri. He tells us that Kongoda was about two hundred miles from Odra and it had a capital city about 3 miles in circuit. It was a hilly country bordering on the sea. This description tallies with the modern physical features of Ganjam and Puri districts which constituted the Kongoda country. The Chinese pilgrim further tells us that the people of Kongoda were of black complexion and their language was not very different from the languages of mid-India. Evidently Kongoda like Orissa, had a separate regional language of its own which had similarity with the languages of Sanskrit origin. Yuan Chwang however notes that their manner of speaking was quite different and this remark indicates that their manner of speaking had been influenced by the regional languages of Kalinga and Andhra, which were not of Sanskrit origin. About the capital he says that the town was naturally strong and there was a gallant army in it, which kept the neighbouring coutries in awe, and therefore there was no powerful enemy. This description indicates that Kongoda was a powerful kingdom, but Yuan Chwang does not mention the name of the ruler or the name of the capital town. Cunningham however infers that the name of the capital was probably Ganja which still exists on the bank of the river Risikulya and due to the Telugu influence is now pronounced as Ganjam. Ganja was a port and, as will be shown later, it has found mention in the accounts of the Muslim geographers of the 9th and 10th century A.D. as Kanja. From the Chinese pilgrim's description it appears that the kingdom was about 150 miles in circumference.

From Kongoda the Chinese pilgrim proceeded to Ki-ling-kia identified with Kalinga. Kalinga at this time was not a part of the Andhra country which Yuan Chwang mentions separately as An-to-lo or Andhra. The traveller makes a brief reference to Kalinga and says : "the people were rude and headstrong in disposition, observant of good faith and fairness, fast and clear in speech, in their talk and manners they differed somewhat from mid-India." This description gives us an idea that the language and manners of the Kalinga country had been influenced by the neighbouring people of the Andhra country. The Chinese pilgrim says that Kalinga produced large dark elephants which were prized in the neighbouring countries. As we shall see later, the Muslim geographers of the 9th and 10th century A.D. also refer to large elephants as one of the chief commodities of trade in Orissa of the Bhauma period.

Kautilya's *Arthasastra* also mentions Kalinga as the country producing the best elephants. About the religious conditions of the Kalinga the Chinese pilgrim says that there were not more than 10 Buddhist monasteries and 500 Buddhist monks. He refers to 100 Hindu temples, which indicates that the Brahmanical religion and not Buddhism, was the main religion of Kalinga. Yuan Chwang does not mention the name of the capital city but we know from other sources that Kalinganagara was the capital city of this country at the time of his visit. Kalinganagara has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of modern Andhra.

From Kalinga the Chinese pilgrim made a detour and came to the Mahakosala country which at this time was represented by modern Chhatisagarh and Bastar regions. The main purpose of his visit was to see the places of Buddhist importance associated with the memory of the great Mahayana philosopher Nagarjuna, who is generally taken to be a contemporary of the great Kushana king Kanishka. Yuan Chwang tells us that the country was surrounded by high mountains and was full of forests and marshes. The Kosala country was, according to the Chinese pilgrim, one thousand miles in circumference. The number of Buddhist monasteries was more than one hundred and about ten thousand Mahayana Buddhist monks resided in them. There was a great Buddhist monastery with a great *stupa* built by Asoka, which was erected just outside the capital and at one time Nagarjuna resided in it. The Chinese pilgrim does not tell us the name of the capital of the Kosala country of his time. He does not also tell us the name of the reigning monarch. He however mentions a rock-cut monastery at Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li, which was excavated for the residence of Nagarjuna by a king named Yin-Cheng, but neither Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li nor the king Yin-Cheng has yet been satisfactorily identified. Prof. R. D. Banerjee identifies Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li with Bhramaragiri situated in the former Rewa State. As the Mahakosala country never extended up to Bundelkhand in which Rewa is situated, it is not possible to accept the identification proposed by him. As a matter of fact, Po-lo-mo-lo-ki-li still remains unidentified.

Yuan Chwang's above description of Orissa and the neighbouring countries is meagre but even then it throws welcome light on the religious and social conditions of Orissa. It is unfortunate that the places of Buddhist importance mentioned by him still remain unidetified. We have shown above that none of the places mentioned by him has yet been satisfactorily identified. Had they been identified, they would have provided further evidences about the history and culture of this region.

Yuan Chwang was a devout Buddhist and was not much interested in the political affairs of Orissa and of other parts of India, and therefore he does not give us the names of the capitals or the kings or the ruling dynasties. Nevertheless, this prince of the pilgrims has earned our gratitude for his having left to us a brief account of Orissa and the neighbouring regions of the first half of the 7th century A.D.

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6. The Bhauma-Karas

Origin : Even up to the beginning of the 20th century the Bhauma-Karas as a ruling dynasty of Orissa were unknown to scholars, but in course of time a very large number of inscriptions belonging to this dynasty were discovered, deciphered and commented upon by eminent scholars. A collection of such inscriptions were first published by Pandit Binayak Misra in his monograph, *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings* which for the first time brought to the notice of the scholars the importance of this dynasty in the history of Orissa. Since Pandit Misra wrote his work several more important inscriptions of the danasty have been discovered and they together throw considerable light on the history of this memorable dynasty. As the male members or this dynasty bear the names mostly ending with *kara*, it has also been described as the *Kara* dynasty by many scholars, but their epigraphs also mention them as Bhauma monarchs. So, the dynasty is now generally known to scholars as Bhauma-Kara dynasty. A few Sanskrit works like the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied works contain some historical traditions among which the Bhauma-Karas have not found mention. The *Madala-panji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri, also contain some late historical traditions, but in these traditions too the Bhauma-Karas have not found place. The main reason of this omission seems to be that the Bhauma–Karas were unorthodox rulers and were possibly of non-Aryan origin. The orthodox Brahmins who were the repositories of all traditions, have ignored them for this reason.

Although the traditions recorded in the Sanskrit texts and the *Madalapanji* completely ignore the existence of the Bhauma dynasty of Orissa, Sarala Dasa, the author of the first Oriya *Mahabharata*, being a non-Brahmin, appears to have referred to them in his *Mahabharata*. He describes in the *Adi Parva* a fight between Bhima and the *Chandalas* at Sivapura, in which the *Chandalas* were completely defeated, as result of which Bhima became the ruler of Sivapura. It is stated in the story that these *Chandalas* were the descendants of a Brahmin mother and a non-Brahmin father. In the story there are some names which appear to be corrupted forms of the names of the Bhauma kings. Pandit Binayak

Misra and also Dr. H. K. Mahtab infer from the story that the Bhaumas were probably a non-Aryan tribe, possibly the Bhuyans who still reside in the mountains and plains of Orissa The women of the Bhuyan tribe, like the women of all other primitive tribes, enjoy a much greater freedom than the Hindu women. In the Bhauma dynasty we find as many as six female members who ruled over Orissa as full-fledged sovereigns with all sovereign titles. This is perhaps the only example in the Hindu history of India in which we find the women occupying the throne as successors of their late husbands or fathers. Rudramba of the Kakatiya dynasty and the Kashmiri queen Didda are perhaps the only two other examples of the Hindu history in which female members ruled after their father and husband respectively. It seems to us that the Bhaumas being a non-Aryan tribe, had a custom of allowing their female members to succeed the late husbands or fathers by virtue of their own rights.

Although the Bhaumas thus apper to have been originally a non-Aryan tribe, it becomes difficult to determine whether they were the original inhabitants of Orissa or had come from some other region. In the Pasupati temple inscription Rajyamati, the daughter of Harshavarman, has been described as *Bhagadattarajakulaja* meaning that she was the daughter of the Bhagadatta ruling family of Assam. The Bhaumas likewise claim their descent from Bhagadatta. Therefore there is some ground to think that Bhaumas of Orissa and the Harshavarman's family of Assam originally belonged to one and the same ruling family. The Palas of Bengal and the Bhaumas of Orissa were contemporaries and the foundations of their kingdoms in both the countries do not seem to have been removed from each other by any great length of time. The accounts of the Tibetan historian Taranatha indicate that both in Bengal and Orissa there was a period of confusion and anarchy that preceded the foundation of the Pala kingdom and the Bhauma kingdom. The circumstances connected with the rise of the Palas have, to some extent, been known, but the same in the case of the Bhauma-Karas still remain shrouded in obscurity. Certain references in one inscription of Nepal which are likely to clear the obscurity have not received the due attention of scholars. It is stated in the Pasupati temple inscription that Rajyamati, queen of the Nepalese king Jayadeva, was the daugher of Sri Harshadeva who conquered Gauda, Odra, Kalinga and Kosala. Nepal and Assam were contiguous kingdoms and if we calculate from the date of the destruction of Bhaskaravarman's dynasty by Salastambha, Sri Harsha or Harshavarman, king of Assam, can very well be regarded as a contemporary of the Nepalese king Jayadeva. The matrimonial connection between the two continuous region as suggesed by the aforesaid inscription, is more than a probability. The

conquests attributed to Sri Harsha of Assam in the aforesaid inscription should not therefore be lightly brushed aside. The epigraph proves that Odra or Orissa was one of the countries which had been conquered by the king Harsha of Assam.

The conquest of Orissa by Harshavarman of Assam should therefore be taken to be a historical fact and not a probability. After his conquest the Assamese king would have made arrangement for its administration, as a result of which the kingdom of the Bhaumas in Orissa owed its origin. Kshemankaradeva, the first member of the ruling family of the Bhaumas, seems to have been the first administrator or the governor of this newly conquered kingdom. There are many instances in which the families of the subordinate rulers or the governors ultimately become hereditary and independent. The Bhauma-Karas of Orissa ultimately became such an independent and hereditary ruling family in Orissa. The new kingdom started its existence since A.D 736 which, as will be shown later, was the initial year of the Bhauma era recorded in their inscriptions, and fixed their capital at Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka mentioned in all their copper plate grants. This place should be identified with Guhira Tikra which is about 5 miles from Viraja or Jajpur and which is situated in the immediate neighbourhood of Khadipada from which several Buddhist images, including an inscribed Avalokitesvara giving the name of Subhakaradeva, have been discovered. *Tikra*, the second part of the name Gohira Tikra, means a mound and the first part of the name Gohira seems to be a corruption of Guhesvara. Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka was most likely associated with Guha or the Guhas mentioned in the *Puranas* and the *Mahabharata* as the rulers of Kalinga, Mahishya (Midnapore) and the Mahendra mountain. The Guhas and the Bhaumas should not however be taken as identical or as contemporaries on the evidence of a single manuscript of the *Vishnu Purana* which the editor Mr. Wilson himself thinks to be extremely doubtful. We have already referred to a Buddhist king of Kalinga named Guhasiva who figures in the strory of the Buddha's tooth relic recorded in the Ceylonese work *Dathavamsa*. There is absolutely no evidence to show that the Bhaumas were the descendants of Guhasiva's family. The name Guhadeva Pataka or Guhesvara Pataka does not also prove that it was derived from the name Guhasiva. The name may simply mean that it was a place of Guha which is another name of Kartikeya.

A thorough survey of art and architecture of Orissa and Assam is likely to provide evidences of the mutual exchange of styles and art

motifs between the two branches of the same family ruling in Orissa and Assam. The Present writer in his *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa* has drawn the attention of scholars to two images of Ganga, one found at Dah Parvatia in the Tezpur district of Assam, and the other from the Ratnagiri in the Cuttack district of Orissa, now preserved in the Patna Museum, and has also published their photographs. Stylistically and iconographically these two images possess close similarity. The Assamese specimen is earlier to the Orissan one by about three centuries, but yet the continuity of the tradition has been remarkably preserved in the latter. The Bhauma ruling family, of Orissa, like the Somavamsis and the Gangas of her subsequent history, thus appear to have been originally the outsiders and not the original inhabitants of Orissa.

Chronology : The Bhauma copper plate records and stone inscriptions mention some years in an unspecified era, the earliest of which is 50 or 20 and the latest 204. In between the earliest and latest years there is no big gap, which clearly indicates that the members of the ruling family ruled in an unbroken line of continuity till the end of the dynasty. The initial year of the unspecified era of the Bhauma records has been a matter of controversy among the scholars. Dr. Bhandarkar and following him Pandit B. Misra referred it to the Harsha era commencing from A.D. 606, but in the light of the latest discoveries this view cannot now be accepted.

The astronomical data[a] obtained from two of Satrubhanjadeva's copper plate grants, both dated in the year 198, now enable us to determine the exact date of the commencement of the unspecified era. There is no doubt that the Bhaumas started an era of their dynasty. The Dasapalla copper plate grant of Ranaka Satrubhanjadeva, dated in the year 198, was issued on the day of *Visuva Samkranti, Panchami, Ravi dina, Mrigasira Nakshatra*. This combination of the solar and lunar reckoning is rare in the Indian calendar and Pandit S. N. Rajguru, the editor of the copper plate grant, after consulting the *Indian Ephemeris* of Swamikannu Pillai, found the following dates between A.D. 700 and 1100 when this combination actually occurred :

(1) The 21st March, A.D. 812

(2) The 23rd March, A.D. 934 and

(3) The 23rd March, A.D. 1029

Of these three dates, he has taken the 23rd March A. D. 934 as the date of issue of the grant after a consideration of other dates and facts of Orissan history and has accordingly concluded that the Bhauma

era started from A.D.736 (934 - 198=736). It is to be noted that the aforesaid unspecified era is found not only in the records of the Bhaumas but also of all their feudatories and the contemporaries in Orissa. The year 198 mentioned in the Dasapalla copper plate grant of Ranaka Satrubhanjadeva should therefore be referred to this unspecified era which has now been taken by all scholars to be the Bhauma era.

Dr. D. C. Sircar has not however accepted. A.D. 736 as the initial year of the Bhauma era. He has taken the 23rd March, A.D. 1029 as the date of the issue of the Dasapalla copper plate grant of Ranaka Satrubhanjadeva dated in the year 198, and has accordingly taken A.D. 831 as the date of the commencement of the Bhauma era. These opposing views have led to a difference of about a century in the starting point of the Bhauma era. The present writer wrote a monograph entitled *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa* (Law Journal Press, Madras, 1961), in which he has thoroughly discussed these two opposing views and has ultimately come to a conclusion that the Bhauma era commenced from A.D. 736 and not from A.D. 831. Certain synchronisms found from various sources have strengthened the conclusion that the era started from A.D. 736 and not form A.D. 831, but Dr. D. C. Sircar and following him Dr. D. K. Ganguly are yet unwilling to accept this conclusion.

Even before the publication of the aforesaid Daspalla grant of Satrubhanjadeva Dr. R. C. Majumdar, after various considerations, expressed the following view about the starting point of the Bhauma era :

"This view goes against the assumption that the dates of the Kara kings are to be referred to the Harsha era. This theory is open to several objections. In the first place the ruler of Orisss about A. D. 795 would be a queen (Nos. XIV—XVI) who was a Saiva and not a Buddhist. The Buddhist ruler of Orissa in A.D. 795 who, according to the Chinese source, "had a deep faith in the Sovereign Law." must be identified with one of the first three Kara kings who are called respectively *Paramopasaka*, *Parama'athagata* and *Paramasaugata*, and not with any of their successors who were devotees of Mahesvara. Secondly, according to Taranatha, there was a political disintegration both in Bengal and Orissa shortly before the time when Gopala was elected to the throne. As his statement has proved to be true with regard to Bengal, we may give cradit to it in respect of Orissa as well. It is more probable, therefore that the Karas, who ruled for two centuries in an unbroken line of succession, established a powerful kingdom about the middle of the eighth rather than the seventh century A D. Thirdly, if we refer the

date of the Kara records to Harsha era, king No. III would flourish about the middle of the seventh century A.D., but the scirpts of his plates are so distinctly later than the Ganjam plate of Sasanka that it has been assigned to the latter half of the eighth century A. D. Fourthly, if the date of king Unmattakesari, recorded in the Ganjam grant, is really 20, we can hardly refer it to the Harsha era as Orissa had not yet been conquered by Harsha.

"On these and other grounds it is more reasonable to refer the foundation of the Kara dynasty to the middle of the eighth century A. D. In that case we cannot refer the dates in their records to any known era, and must presume that it was a case of continuous reckoning of the regnal year of the first king by his successors which has given rise to so many local eras, including the Ganga era in Kalinga."

Dr. Majumdar and Dr. Sircar hold different views about the identification of the Orissan king who sent an autographed manuscript of the *Gandavyuha* to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong in the year A.D. 795. The name of the Orissan king appears in the Chinese source as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion" which has been identified by Dr. Majumdar with Sivakaradeva Unmattasimha who was a Buddhist king bearing the title *Paramatathagata*. Dr. D.K. Ganguly following Dr. Sircar, does not accept this identification and says "The Orissan king of the Chinese records was evidently a non-Bhauma king who flourished in the last quarter of the 8th century A.D. Dr. D.C. Sircar has drawn the attention of scholars to a king of Orissa named Subhakarasimha who arrived in China in A. D. 716. The Indian contemporary of Te-tsong may be identified with one of his descendants." Dr. Sircar and Dr. Ganguly have not identified the above mentioned Subhakarasimha, nor his successor who presented the Buddhist manuscript to the Chinese emperor. The first three kings of the Bhauma dynasty bear Buddhist titles indicating that they were Buddhists, but in the subsequent periods of Orissan history no king so far known from any source, was a Buddhist. The learned scholars have not considered this point and have relegated the contemporary Orissan king of the Chinese emperor Te-tsong to an unknown and unknowable corner.

Another synchronism with regard to the Bhauma era is furnished by the Baud copper plate of Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, dated in the Bhuma era 158 in which it is stated that she was the daughter of the king Svabhavatunga, the Lord of Kosala, who belonged to the Somavamsa. There is no ambiguity whatsoever in the statement and we have to take Prithvi Mahadevi to be

the daughter of the Somavamsi king Svabhavatunga, ruling in the Sambalpur-Sonpur region contemporaneously with the Bhaumas of the coastal region of Orissa. Svabhavatunga has to be identified either with Janmejaya I or Yayati I of the Somavamsi dynasty. The present writer identified him with the Janmejaya I, but Dr. D. C. Sircar disagreed with him and identified him with Yayati I.

Besides the Baud plate of the Prithvi Mahadevi, a Somavamsi copper plate grant also refers to Svabhavatunga. A short supplement comprising 3 verses engraved at the end of the copper plate grant of Yayati I issued in the 8th year of his reign, refers to Svabhavatunga. The verses as re-edited and interpreted by Dr. Sircar do not give any coherent meaning and as such, will not be acceptable to scholars. It is true that the texts of the inscriptions sometimes contain numerous mistakes and the omission of letters and even words, but they do not represent jargons. While re-editing and interpreting the above-mentioned verses, Dr. Sircar has not taken this fact into his consideration. Therefore, the present writer with all respect to Dr. Sircar has differed from him and has re-edited and interpreted the verses in question in APPENDIX I (b) of his monograph "*Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa*" along with Dr. Sircar's reading and interpretation. A perusal of the interpretations will convince any impartial scholar that Svabhavatunga of the Bhauma and the Somavamsi records was no other than Janmejaya I, the founder of the Somavamsi dynasty in Orissa and that he was a contemporary of the Kalachuri King Sankaragana (*c* A.D. 880-910).

The present writer for the first time discovered another synchronism in the works of the Arab and Persian geographers of the 9th and 10th century A. D. A short account of their description of Orissa is given in the APPENDIX III from which it will be evident that the earliest account of Orissa given by Ibn Khurdadhbih refers to a female ruler of this kingdom. Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was ruling in Orissa in the Bhauma year 110 which corresponds to A. D. 846 if the initial year or the Bhauma era is taken to be A.D. 736 Ibn Khurdadhbih completed the first draft of his work in A. D. 846 and therefore we have taken Tribhuvana Mahadevi and Ibn Khurdadhbih as close contemporaries. Dr. D. K. Ganguly rejects this synchronism and observes : " And lastly although Ibn Khurdadhbih refers to a female ruler of Orissa it is difficult to determine how far his accounts are historical particularly when we remember that he derived his knowledge about Orissa from heresay evidence." It is not a fact that Ibn Khurdadhbih's account of

Orissa was based on hearsay. He derived his information from the work of the traveller Abu Abdillah Ibon-Ishaq and produced an itinerary along the eastern coast of India from the estuary of the river Godavari, correctly mentioning the different political divisions and the important ports of Orissa as will be evident from the APPENDIX III. The accounts of the Arab and Persian geographers have been utilised by eminent scholars for reconstructing ancient Indian history and so his unceremonious rejection of Ibn Khurdadhbih's accounts of Orissa appears to be astonishing.

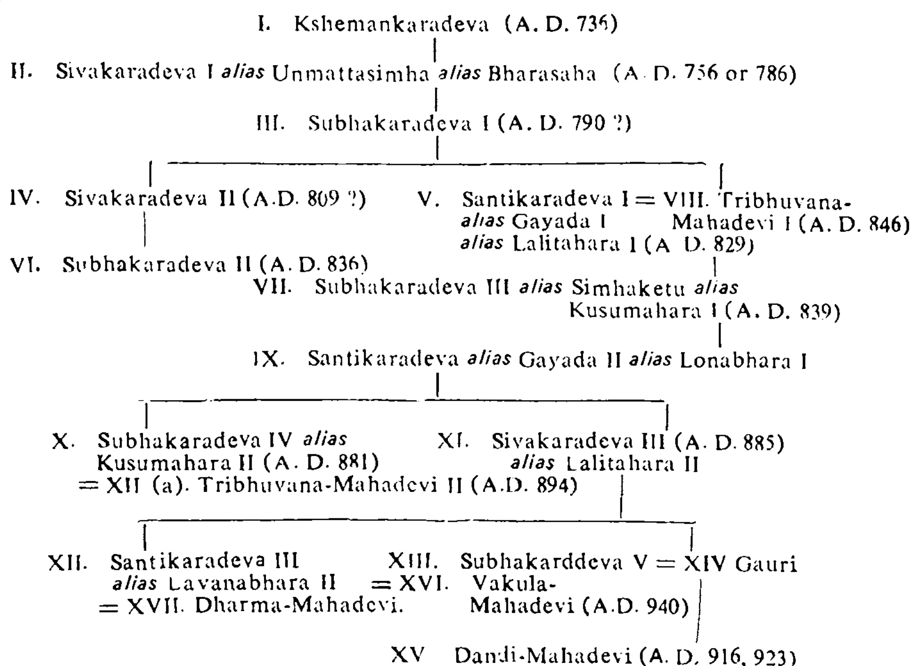
After having rejected or side-tracked all the above synchronisms, Dr. Ganguly slurs over another most important synchronism which is obtained from the history of the Western Gangas of Mysore and which helps the reconstruction of the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas. The present writer for the first time drew the attention of scholars that Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was the daughter of Rajamalla I (A.D. 817—853) of the Western Ganga dynasty of Mysore. Dr. Ganguly simply adds a foot-note with regard this important point with the following observations : "The Dhenkanal plate describes Tribhuvana Mahadevi I as the daughter of Rajamalla of the southern country (*Dakshin-asa-mukha-tilaka*). The identity of Rajamalla is far from certain. B. Misra (DMO pp. 20-21) thinks that the Pallava king Pallavamalla was the father of Tribhuvanamahadevi I. K. C. Panigrahi (CBKSO, p. 29) identifies Rajamalla with the Western Ganga king Rajamalla I who ruled from A. D. 817 to 853. According to Dr. D. C. Sircar (JIH, XXXIV, p. 298) this king may be identified with one of the predecessors of Irmadi Racamalla (i. e. Rajamalla II)." In respect of this important synchronism also we are led to a blind alley. Dr. Sircar and Dr. Ganguly have not considered the facts that in one copper plate inscription of her son Tribhuvana Mahadevi is clearly described as belonging to *nagodbhava-kula* i.e , the Ganga dynasty and that there were four kings bearing the name of Rajamalla in the Western Ganga dynasty of Mysore which belong to the southern region.

The above facts will show that Dr. Sircar's view about the initial year of the Bhauma era does not lead us to any clear and correct position with regard to the Bhauma chronology. The Chief Editor Dr. Majumdar and the prominent contributor Dr. Sircar do not agree with each other about the starting point of the Bhauma era, and therefore the accounts of the Karas and the Somavamsis as given in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series of Indian history have become a discordant element. Dr. Majumdar's section on the Karas of Orissa is an impartial

and distinct contribution, but he has not put the Kara or Bhauma rulers of Orissa within a chronological framework, accurate or approximate. only the Bhauma years found from their inscriptions have been put against the individual rulers in the genealogy published by him. The position would have been different, had the Chief Editor Dr. Majumdar and the contributor Dr. Sircar produced an agreed solution, in which case we would have gladly accepted their solution. We find that the known dates and facts of the Bhauma-Kara and the Somavamsi dynasties are thrown into a state of conflict, if the initial year of the Bhauma era is taken to be A.D. 831. Therefore we stick to our position that the era started from A.D. 736. We have not taken palaeography as a factor for determining the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas. On palaeographical grounds an eminent epigraphist like Kielhorn had placed Dandimahadevi in the thirteenth century, but definite evidences now place her in the tenth century. We have already given an instance to show how palaeography can sometimes be utilised to produce a wide difference of dates. On palaeographical grounds and in consideration of associative antiquities Mr. T. N. Ramachandran had placed the epigraph recording the name of Disabhanja at Sitabhinji in Keonjhar, in the fourth century A. D., but Dr. D. C. Sircar placed the same record on palaeographical grounds between the eighth and eleventh century A.D. Dr. R.C. Majumdar supported Mr. Ramachandran's view and placed the same epigraph in the fourth or fifth century A. D. on the same palaeographical grounds. This is perhaps a classic example to show how palaeography is made use of in dating the epigraphic records. Palaeography sometimes serves as a hand-maid for producing evidences to support pet theories and preconceived conclusions. Yet, some scholars sometimes pretend to pin-point dates with their knowledge of palaeography. Dr. D. C. Sircar is indeed a great scholar, but he is not greater than truth. His theory that the Bhauma era stated from A. D. 831 will not survive the test of time, but deference to his greatness as a scholar has succeeded in throwing the chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis of Orissa into a state of conflict in an important publication like the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan series of Indian History edited by an eminent scholar like Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Genealogy : We reproduce below the genealogical table of the Bhauma-Karas as it appears on page 63 of *The History and Culture of the Indian People* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), Vol. IV. Taking the initial year of the Bhauma era as A. D. 736. we have only put the corresponding dates in the Christian era in place of the Bhauma years given in the original table reproduced here. The Bhauma year 158 referred to in the

foot-note 33 on page 79 of the same work has been put in the corresponding Christian year of A.D. 894 against Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II. The order of succession is shown by Roman figures.



Kshemankaradeva (A. D. 736)

This founder of the dynasty is a shadowy figure and hardly anything is known of him. In the later records of the dynasty he has not been given sovereign titles, indicating that he was either a feudatory or a governor of a sovereign power. Kshemankaradeva most probably remained loyal to Harshavarman's ruling family of Assam and only after his death a change took place in the relation between the two branches of the same family ruling in Assam and Orissa simultaneously. Kshemankaradeva bore the title *Paramopasaka* indicating that he was a Buddhist. In Orissa the early rulers of the Bhaumas became Buddhists and their conversion to Buddhism is attested to by the Tibetan tradition that Luipa converted an Orissan king into the same religion. It is perhaps the Orissan king Kshemankaradeva who was converted into Buddhism by Luipa. In the Neulpur copper plate grant of his grandson Subhakara I Kshemankara has been given the credit of having established the four orders (*Varnnas*) in proper positions. The statement shows that even through the first three rulers of the dynasty were Buddhists, they favoured and protected the caste system.

In a single copper plate inscription and not in other numerous records of the dynasty, Lakshmikara appears as a distant predecessor of Subhakaradeva I. Lakshmikara was probably the father of Kshemankara and he seems to have been a feudatory ruler in Assam before Kshemankara established a kingdom in Orissa. The fact that Lakshmikara has casually been referred to only in one Orissan record, goes to show that he was not the founder of the Bhauma dynasty in Orissa.

Sivakaradeva I *alias* Unmattasimha (A. D. 756 or 786)

Sivakaradeva was the son and successor of the founder of the dynasty and was also the real maker of the fortunes of the Bhauma kingdom. He conquered Kongoda (Ganjam and Puri districts) and the northern part of Kalinga as is evident from the Ganjam grant of the Ganga king Jayavarmadeva of Svetaka who has styled himself as *Sakala-Kalingadhipati*, but has acknowledged the overlordship of the king Unmattakesari of Viraja (Jajpur), who can be no other than Sivakara Unmattasimha of the Bhauma dynasty. The Talcher plate of Sivakaradeva III dated in the Bhauma year 149 (A. D. 885) has however represented Unmattasimha's son Subhakaradeva I as the conqueror of Kalinga. It is just possible that Subhakara was associated with the conquest of Kalinga during his father's reign and has therefore been given the credit of its conquest. An analogous instance is to be found in the Brahmesvara inscription in which Udyotakesari of the Somavamsi dynasty has been credited with the wars or conflicts with certain powers, which had actually taken place during his father's reign.

In the aforementioned Talcher plate Unmattasimha has been given the credit of having taken away the daughter of the Radha king along with his fortunes after defeating the latter in a fierce battle. The name of Sivakaradeva I's queen, who became the mother of his son Subhakaradeva I, appears in another inscription as Jayavalidevi. His conquest of Kalinga has not found mention in any of the records of his immediate or distant successors, but all the same his conquest of Kalinga is proved independently by the Ganjam plates of the Ganga king Jayavarmadeva. The defeat inflicted by him on the king of Radha (south-west Bengal) and his marriage with his daughter, have not found mention in the records of his immediate successors, but for that reason their authenticity should not be doubted. For more than one reason a political event may not foued mention in the contemporary records.

Compared to the contemporary rulers of other regions, the Bhauma rulers have been extremely modest in their claims of aggression or conquest. In their palmy days they held the whole of modern Orissa along with the territories then known as Kalinga and Dandakabhukti. The inclusion of Kalinga (the tract between Ganjam and the Godavari river) and Dandakabhukti (Midnapore region) is proved by the above mentioned charter of Jayavarma and the Baud plate of Prithvi Mahadevi, but yet the rulers of the Bhauma kingdom, which would not have grown into such a big state all at once, have cared little to refer to the gradual conquest of these territories.

In the light of the above facts the claim made in the Talcher plate of Sivakaradeva III that Unmattasimha defeated the king of Radha (south west Bengal) and forced him to give his daughter in marriage, should not be doubted. When Unmattasimha was ruling in Orissa, Bengal was still in a state of disorder, and therefore the Radha king defeated by him cannot be identified. There is no doubt that Sivakaradeva I was the real maker of the fortunes of the Bhauma kingdom. His dominions stretched from the border of Bengal in the north to the river Godavari in the south.

We have already referred to the considered view of Dr. R. C. Majumdar that it was Sivakaradeva Unmattasimha who sent an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gandavyuha*, a part of the *Avatamsaka*, which was received by the Chinese emperor Te-tsong in the year A. D. 795. Like his father Kshemankaradeva Sivakaradeva I was a Buddhist bearing the title *Paramatathagata* and his full name answers to the Chinese translation of the name of the king of Orissa given in the Chinese sources. It appears that the Orissan king gave his name in his autograph as *Sriman-Maharaja Sivakara Unmattasimha* which was translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." The only word which was not translated, is *Unmatta* which menans 'mad' and which was therefore considered inappropriate for the name of the friendly distant foreign monarch, who had sent a present to the Chinese emperor.

The Ganjam plates of Jayavarmadeva contains a date which has been read by Pandit Binayak Misra as 50 (A. D. 786), but Dr. R. C. Majumdar is inclined to read it as 20 (A. D. 756). In either case Sivakara Unmattasimha becomes a contemporary of the Chinese emperor Te-tsong. The duration of his reign is not known but there is nothing to preclude the possibility that he had a long reign.

Subhakaradeva I (A. D. 790 ?)

He was the son of Sivakara I and grandson of Kshemankaradeva. He married Madhavadevi who appears as a devotee of the god Siva in Hamsesvara temple inscription to be found at Jajpur. This shows that, although Subhakaradeva I was a Buddhist bearing the Buddhist title *Paramasaugata*, he could tolerate Saivism which was the religion of his wife. The Neulpur copper plate grant of this king records the donation of two villages, Komparaka and Solanapura, to a number of Brahmins. These villages still exist in the Balasore district under the present names of Kupari and Solanapura and each has some ancient temples and images assignable to the Bhauma period. A passage in the Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva III dated in the Bhauma year 103 (A.D. 839), appears to hint at a calamity that had overcome Subhakara I. The relevant passage has been translated as "it was heard that, being an overlord, he was deserted by the soldiers(lit. horsemen), but his glory was never impaired by his adversaries and he was the best of men." This verse like many other verses of the Bhauma copper plate inscriptions, is capable of yielding double meanings. The word *visadi* means "one who was deserted by his horsemen" and it also means "one who was sad (*visadi*)." Similarly the word Purushottama means "the best of men" and it also means "the city of Purushottama" which is another name of Puri. It appears that the king Subhakara I was first deserted by his army and was therefore forced to run away from Puri.

The calamity hinted at in the above mentioned record, seems to refer to a foreign invasion which most likely took place in the reign of this monarch or his son and successor Sivakara II, who were ruling in Orissa between A.D. 790 and 829. The Rashtrakutas of the Deccan and the Palas of Bengal claim in their inscriptions to have invaded Orissa during this period. It is stated in the Sanjan plates of Amoghavarsha that the Rashtrakuta king Govinda III (A.D. 798-814) conquered Kosala, Kalinga, Vanga, Dahala and Odraka. Under Govinda III the Rashtrakutas became invincible everywhere and there is therefore no doubt they also invaded Odraka (Orissa). It appears that the Rashtrakuta invasion of Orissa, which would have taken place in the reign of Subhakara I, has been described in the *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri, in a strangely distorted form as Raktavahu invasion. Mr. A. Stirling who wrote his work in 1822 and who had access to the unadulterated traditions of Orissa, has reproduced the entire story of the Raktavahu invasion narrated in the *Madalapanji*. The main outline of the story is that in the reign of Subhanadeva, when Raktavahu

approached Puri with his army through the sea, the king of Orissa fled form the city with the images of Jagannatha and his associates lodged in a cart and reached his westen frontier in Sonepur and buried the images at a place known as Gopali, and that after the lapse of 146 years Yayati Kesari (Yayati I) of the Somavamsi dynasty got the images dug out, made new images, built a new temple at Puri and enshrined them there. Gopali, a village with a shrine of Jagannatha, still exists at a distance of 16 miles from Sonepur. The *Madalapanji* which is *par excellence* a chronicle of Jagannatha, has correctty preserved certain facts relating to the history of his temple, though it has blundered while dabbling in the political history of Orissa. Govinda III ruled from A.D. 793 to 814 and his contemporary of Orissa Subhakaradeva I can be identified with Subhanadeva of the *Madalapanji*. Yayati I ruled from c. A. D. 922 to 955 according to our chronology adopted in this work. Therefore the interval of 146 years fits in with the reigns of Govinda III and Subhakaradeva I on one hand and Yayati I on the other. The calamity hinted at in the Hindol plate of Subhakaradeva III dated in the Bhauma year of 103 (A.D. 839) thus appears to refer to the Rashtrakuta invasion of Orissa in the reign of Subhakaradeva I.

In the Badal Pillar Inscription it is claimed that Devapaladeva of Bengal, assisted by his minister Kedaramisra, exterminated the Utkalas and when he invaded Orissa, its king fled from his capital. The claim that the Utkalas were exterminated is an exaggeration, but the statement that Devapala invaded Orissa represents the truth. It seem that the Pala emperor not only invaded Orissa, but also succeeded in bringing it under his political hegemony. Devapala ruled from c. A. D. 810-850 and therefore his invasion of Orissa would have taken place in the reign of Subhakara II or his father. The above mentioned tradition of the *Madalapanji* states that king Subhanadeva fled from Puri with the images of Jagannatha and his associates when the Raktavahu invasion took place. The Badal Pillar Inscription states that the king of Orissa fled from his capital when Devapala invaded it. Therefore Devapala's invasion might have been also the basis of the story of Raktavahu invasion recorded in the *Madalapanji*. But since it has been stated in the tradition that Raktavahu invaded Puri through the sea and since Raktavahu appears to be an echo of Rashtrakuta, we have connected the Raktavahu invasion with the Rashtrakuta invasion and not with the Pala invasion.

Of Sivakaradeva II (A. D. 809. ?) nothing is known except that after Subhakaradeva I he ascended the throne. Similarly, of Santikaradeva I, the younger brother of Sivakaradeva, nothing is known except that he

was ruling in A. D. 829 as is evident from the Dhauli cave inscription. We also find from the genealogy that Sivakara's son Subhakaradeva II was ruling in A. D. 836. It seems that there was a domestic feud between Subhakaradeva II and his uncle Santikaradeva I, and therefore both of them seems to have ruled simultaneously for sometime. The affairs of the Bhauma state are not clear from their records till we come to the reign of Tribhuvana Mahadavi I, queen of Santikara I,

Tribhuvana Mahadevi I (A. D. 846)

It is to be observed from the genealogy that Subhakaradeva I had two sons Sivakara II and Santikara I, both of whom ruled after their father. But while the descendants of his younger son Santikara I continued to rule the Bhauma kingdom till the end of the dynasty, the elder branch represented by Sivakara II, terminated with his son Subhakara II. It apears that the claims of the elder branch to the throne were set aside because of its submission to outside aggression and domination and the younger branch retrieved the lost prestige and power of the kingdom with the help of an external power who, as we shall see later was the great Western Ganga king Rajamalla I, the father of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I. We find from the Bhauma records that Santikara-deva had a son Subhakaradeva III who was ruling in A. D. 839. But when he died, his mother Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was requested by the ministers of the State to ascend the Bhauma throne and therefore she became the ruler till her grandson Santikaradeva II came of age.

Her Dhenkanal plate, dated in the Bhauma year 110 (A. D. 846) furnishes us with several important details of her reign. It is stated in this record that Lalitahara (i.e. Santikara I) "received the palm (i.e. married) of the daughter of Rajamalladeva, the frontal mark of the southern region, who pulverized the mountain-like enemies by his thunder-like arms." In plain words it means that Tribhuvana Mahadevi, wife of Santikara I, was the daughter of Rajamalladeva who has also been specifically stated in the copper plate grant of her son Subhakaradeva II to have belonged to the *Nagodbhava-kula* which in plain words means the Ganga dynasty. But Pandit B. Misra had read it as *Nagodbhava-kula*, meaning the Naga dynasty. The present writer for the first time corrected the reading which will be acceptable to all scholars. *Nagodbhava-kula* can be interpreted as meaning either the Sailodbhava dynasty or the Ganga dynasty. The former dynasty actually existed in Orissa and was superseded by the Bhauma-Karas, but no king of that dynasty bore the name Rajamalla. The Sailodbhava dynasty ruled in the south eastern coast of India, but the Bhauma records describe Rajamalla as the frontal

mark of the southern region. Four kings of the Western Ganga dynasty bearing the name Rajamalla, ruled in Mysore which strictly belongs to the south. Of the four, Rajamalla I, who ruled from A. D. 817 to A. D. 853, was most powerful. He should therefore be fittingly identified with Rajamalla described as the father of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I. According to the available data Tribhuvana Mahadevi was ruling in Orissa in A.D. 846. Rajamalla I started his reign in A. D. 817 and this shows that his daughter was ruling in Orissa after he had ruled for 29 years. Such a difference of time between the reign periods of a father and a daughter is quite possible.

We have therefore no difficulty in identifying Tribhuvana Mahadevi's father with Rajamalla I of the Western Ganga dynasty of Mysore, who ruled from A. D. 817 to 853. We have already seen that his daughter's charter represents him as a most powerful king who destroyed his enemies. In the records of the Western Gangas also he appears to be a most powerful king who freed the Western Ganga kingdom from the imperialism of the Rashtrakutas by taking advantage of the minority of Amoghavarsha. He preserved the integrity of his kingdom and strengthened it by matrimonial alliances. In his inscriptions he has been compared with "Vishnu in the form of a Boar rescuing the earth from the infernal regions." He retrieved not only the lost fortunes of his own kingdom, but also of the Bhauma kingdom as the statement recorded in his daughter's record indicates. It is he who appears to have put to an end to the Rashtrakuta and Pala domination in Orissa.

The marriage of Santikaradeva I with the daugher of Rajamalla I was thus a turning point in the history of the Bhaumas. It was also a point of change in the history of their religious faith. Tribhuvana Mahadevi has been represented as a great devotee of Vishnu and it has been stated that "During her rule the country advanced in three branches (of administration); the foes were extirpated, the glory spread abroad and there was harmony among the people. With the head sanctified with the lotus-like feet of Hari, she enjoyed an unparalleled fortune and thought that there was no other work for her to do." The high praise bestowed on her by the contemporary Orissan records is also substantially borne out by the accounts of the contemporary Arab and Persian geographers. These accounts mention the main divisions of Orissa, of which a summary has been given in APPENDIX III, and state that "The royal power in them belongs to Dahum (Bhaum or Bhauma). Dahum does not consider any one (*hich kas*) superior to himself and is said to have an army of 3,00,000." They also further state that "The royal power belongs to a

woman who is called *rayina*." The earliest Arab geographer Ibn Khuradadhbih who speaks of a woman ruler of Orissa, wrote his geography in A.D. 846 and as such, he was no doubt a close contemporary of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I, as we have already observed. We therefore put the synchronisms obrained from three different sources with regard to her reign, in the following tabular form :

Rajamall I, A.D. 817–853, father of Tribhuvana Mahadevi	Tribhuvana Mahadevi A. D. 846	Ibn Khurdadhbih A. D. 846

In the Dhenkanal Plate of this queen it is stated that "The Kara family had to depend upon nothing but their past glory and the kingdom looked like the sky bereft of refulgent stars and a female with distressful heart", when she ascended the throne being "entereated by a great circle of chiefs to be pleased to protect the fortune of Kara kingdom," as Devi Gosvamini did in old days. Devi Gosvamini is not otherwise known from any record of the Bhaumas and therefore she seems to have been a remote ancestor of the Bhaumas, who flourished before Kshemankaradeva, the founder of the dynasty in Orissa. We have already stated that Bhaumas of Orissa were a branch of the Bhaumas of Assam and before Kshemankaradeva founded a kingdom in Orissa, his ancestors were probably the feudatory chiefs ruling in some part of Assam. Gosvamini Devi appears to have been a ruler of this family of the feudatory chiefs. This is our surmise, but the correct identification of Gosvamini Devi should await further discoveries.

The calamity due to the invasion of the Palas and Rashtrakutas was thus averted by the great queen Tribhuvana Mahadevi I. From her reign the dynasty emerged from a period of disaster and distress and her successors ruled with full sovereign titles till the end of the dynasty. This great queen will always remain great in the history of the Bhaumas and also in the history of Orissa.

She abdicated the throne in favour of her grandson Santikaradeva II of whom very little is known. He was succeeded by his son Subhakaradeva IV who was ruling in A. D. 881 but due to his death without issue we find his younger brother Sivakaradeva III ruling the Bhauma kingdom in A.D. 885. It seems that at this stage of the Bhauma history there was a succession dispute again and Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II appears to have disputed the succession of the younger brother of her late husband.

Prithhvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II (A. D. 894.)

As already observed, in her Baud Copper Plate Grant Prithvi Mahadevi makes a clear statement that she was the daughter of the king Svabhavatunga, the king of Kosala, who belonged to the Somavamsa We have identified Svabhavatunga with Janmejaya I, the founder of the Somavamsi dynasty in Orissa, for the reasons which will be obvious from our subsequent discussions in this work. Tribhuvana Mahadevi II like Tribhuvana Mahadevi I had the reasons to be grateful to her father and therefore she has made a respectful reference to him in her charter. In the Brahmesvara Inscription of the reign of the Somavamsi king Udyota-kesari Mahabhavagupta it is stated that Janmejaya, the founder of the Somavamsi dynasty, "drew to himself the fortune of the king of the Odra country, who was killed by his *kunta* in a battle." In plain words it means that Janmejaya assumed the sovereignty of Orissa after killing its king with his *kunta* (a sharp pointed weapon) in the battle field. This statement together with the mention of his name in the copper plate grant of his daughter Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II, clearly shows that he killed a reigning monarch of the Bhauna-Kara dynasty of Orissa and placed his daughter on the Bhauma-Kara throne. Some scholars think that the Odra king killed by Janmejaya was a Bhanja king, because of the fact that the Bhanja kingdom of the Baud region has, in some copper plate records, been described as the Odra country. They however forget that the coastal strip of Orissa was also known as Odra as is evident from the accounts of Yuan Chwang, the Tribetan, historian Taranath, the Sanjan Plate of Amoghavarsha, the Pasupati Temple Inscription of Rajyamati, daughter of Harshadeva, and the Chola Inscriptions of Rajendra Chola, Evidently Odra or Udra was a broader geographical term which was sometimes applied to the hilly regions of Orissa also.

The Odra king killed by Janmejaya should therefore be taken to be a Bhauma king of Orissa who in the light of the historical facts known to us can be no other than Sivakaradeva III. In the aforementioned Baud Plate it is stated that Subhakaradeva IV and his brother Sivakara-deva having died without issue, the succession passed to Subhakaradeva's queen Prithvi Mahadevi. This statement is in conflict with the later records of the dynasty, which vouch for the existence of two sons of Sivakaradeva III, who actually ascended the throne after their father. The evidences furnished by the Baud Plate and the Brahmesvara Inscription thus lead us to conclude that there was a struggle for succession to the Bhauma throne; that Somavamsi king Janmejaya-Svabhavatunga took up the cause of his daughter ; that he killed his son-in-law's brother Sivakaradeva III in the battle field and that finally

he placed his daughter on the Bhauma throne. In the Baud Plate there has been a deliberate attempt to suppress the truth and to ignore the claims of Sivakaradeva's sons who probably set up parallel governments in some parts of the same kingdom. In none of the later Bhauma records the reign of Prithvi Mahadevi has been referred to, a fact which indicates that the later members of the Bhauma ruling family never recognised her succession secured with the help of an external power.

Janmejaya-Svabhavatunga's successful intervention in the affairs of the Bhauma kingdom which resulted in the death of the reigning monarch and succession of his daughter to the Bhauma throne, is a very important event in the history of Somavamsis, but strangely enough it has not found mention in any of the contemporary or later official records of the Somavamsis except in the Brahmesvara Inscription which was a non-official document. The reason for this omission is not far to seek. The killing of the son-in-law's own brother with a *kunta* (a sharp pointed weapon) might have been justified from the standpoint of politics, but it was never a laudable act from the standpoint of the society. The official Somavamsi records have therefore discreetly omitted all references to it. The non-official Brahmesvara Inscription with its comprative freedom from official conventions has mentioned this heroic but unpleasant achievement of Janmejaya.

Janmejaya-Svabhavatunga's successful intervention in the succession dispute of the Bhauma kingdom must have increased the Somavamsi political influence in the Bhauma State, which would not have been liked by the members of the Bhauma ruling family. The dynasty became weak due to internal dissensions and outside interference. Of the two sons of Sivakaradeva III very little is known. He was succeeded by his elder son Santikaradeva III, but for the reasons unknown his younger brother Subhakaradeva V ruled after him, and after his death his queen Gauri Mahadevi ascended the throne. Gauri Mahadevi was succeeded by her daughter Dandi Mahadevi who, as we know from her charters, was ruling in A.D. 916 and 923. After her, her step-mother Vakula Mahadevi ruled the Bhauma kingdom and after Vakula Mahadevi Dharma Mahadevi, wife of Santikaradeva III, became the last ruler of the Bhaumas. From the above account it will be obvious that the Bhauma kingdom after Sivakaradeva III passed through a period of turmoil which is indicated by the number of rulers who ruled after him. Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II and Dandi Mahadevi were ruling respectively in A.D. 894. and A.D. 923. Dandi Mahadevi might have ruled for a few years more and closed her reign about A.D. 926.

During this short period of 32 years as many as five rulers, of whom three were females, ruled the Bhauma kingdom. The last four rulers including the two who ruled after Dandi Mahadevi, were all females, a fact which indicates the non-existence of mele heirs. The last two female rulers appear to have been set up on the throne by the enemies of the Somavamsis and these enemies, as we shall see later, were the Bhanjas.

The known date of Vakula Mahadevi is year 204 of the Bhauma year or A. D. 940. Dharma Mahadevi is known to have ruled after Vakula Mahadevi. Thus the Bhauma rule might have come to an end about A.D. 945. But from the inscriptions of the last two rulers of this family it is evident that they were controling only north Tosala and had lost control of south Tosala territory to the Somavamsi kings from about A.D.931, sometime after Dandi Mahadevi had issued her Kumurang a Plate in the Bhauma year 187 corresponding to A.D. 923.

It is the paternal relations of the Bhauma queens who appear to have played a vital role in the downfall of the Bhauma dynasty. The Somavamsis, after Janmejaya's intervention in the internal affairs of the Bhauma State, must have been watching for an opportunity to incorporate the Bhauma kingdom into their own. The Bhanjas also seem to have been watching for a similar opportunity to aggrandise themselves at the expense of the Bhauma kingdom. The intrigues of the neighbouring powers would have been averted and overcome, had there been strong male rulers on the Bhauma throne at this stage. But we find that four female rulers ruled successively and that too for short periods. The external danger could not be averted by these female rulers who seem to have been jealous of each other and who seem to have invited external interference. The parts played by the Bhajnas in the breakup of the Bhauma kingdom has been described by Dr. R. C. Majumdar as follows :

"It is interesting to note that Vakula Mahadevi is described in a verse as "an ornament like a flag with insignia in the family of the Bhanja kings." This verse is a verbatim copy of one applied to Dandi Mahadevi in the Kumuranga Plate with the substitution of ***Bhanja*** for *Kara*. There is hardly any doubt that Vakula Mahadevi belonged to the Bhanja family and it is also not unlikely that her paternal relations played some parts in the politics of the Bhuma kingdom at this period. The succession of four queens one after another probably indicates troublesome times for the Kara dynasty which led to its downfall at no distant date, and the Bhanjas might have played a prominent part in the final stage."

In the Bhauma dynasty two queens, Tribhuvana Mahadevi I and Tribhuvana Mahadevi II, played very important parts. The former retrieved the lost power and prestige of the Bhauma kingdom with the help of her father, but the latter by securing the Bhauma throne through the help of her father sowed the seeds of dissensions in the Bhauma family, which ultimately led to its extinction, and also prepared the way for the occupation of Orissa by the Somavamsi king Yayati I about A.D.931 as we shall see later. The reigns of these two queens also provide us with clues to the chronology of the entire dynasty.

We have already seen that it was Sivakaradeva I who first extended the Bhauma kingdom. In the subsequent periods the kingdom became a vast one. About the extent of the Bhauma kingdom at its height Dr. R. C. Majumdar observes as follows :

"We get a fair idea of the dominions of the Karas from the names of villages mentioned in their land grants. In addition to the coastal territories comprised in the modern districts of Balasore, Cuttack and Puri, their dominions included Angul, the old feudatory states of Hindol, Dhenkanal, Talcher, Pal Lahara, a part of Keonjhar and the northern part of the Ganjam district. These territories are sometimes referred to as included in the north and south Tosali, but the name Utkala also occurs in the records." From the Baud Plate of Tribhuvana Mahadevi II it is evident that Dandakabhukti (modern Midnapore district) was also included in the Bhauma kingdom. Ibn Khurdadhbih mentions in his itinerary the different divisions of the Bhauma kingdom starting from the estuary of the river Godavari which comprised Orissa proper, Kanja (Ganjam), Jharakhand (the hilly regions) and Mahishya (Midnapore). So far as the extent of the Bhauma kingdom is concerned the facts gleaned from the Bhauma copper plate grants are thus corroborated by the accounts of the Arab and Persian geographers.

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APPENDIX-III

ARAB AND PERSIAN GEOGRAPHERS' ACCOUNTS OF ORISSA

The Arab and Persian geographers of the ninth and the tenth century A. D. furnish interesting accounts of Orissa and valuable synchronisms which have not so far attracted the notice of scholars. The earliest geographical work of Ibn Khurdadhbih gives an itinerary along the eastern coast of India from the estuary of the Kudafarid and after Kudafarid mentions Kaylkan, al-Lava (?) Kanja, Samundar and Urishin.[1] The work of the traveller Abu 'Abdillah Ibon-Ishaq which was the source of information for Ibn Khurdadhbih's geography, refers to a woman who ruled Orissa and mentions the name of the country in two forms as Orshfin and Orsfin.[2] He associates the former name with Smndr.[3]

Of these geographical names, Kudafarid, Kanja, Samundar or Smndr and Urishin, Orsfin or Orshfin have respectively been identified with Godavari (the river Godavari), Ganjam, Samudra (the sea) and Orissa.[4] Kaylkan and al-Lava (?) have not been identified, but V. Minorsky suggests with some doubts that Kaylkan may be Calingam of the Portugueze.[5] Since in the above mentioned itinerary the distance between the Kudafarid (the Godavari) and Kaylkan has been given as 2 days' journeys, the suggestion of the Russian translator is quite plausible. Calingam of the Portugueze is no doubt Kalinganagara which, as the capital of the Eastern Ganga kings, had already come into existence before the ninth century when Ibn Khurdadhbih wrote his work. The ancient site of Kalinganagara has been identified with Mukhalingam in the Chicacole Taluk of Andhra Pradesh[6] and its situation would thus agree with the distance given from the river Godavari. Al-Lava (?) doubtfully read as such, has not been identified. These identifications show beyond doubt that Ibn Khurdadhbih's accounts refer to Orissa and its contiguous adjoining

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1. *Hundud-al-Alam*, "The Regions of the World", A Persian Geography, translated in Russian by V. Minorsky and retranslated in English, Oxford University Press, 1937, p. 241
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 26-27
3. *Ibid.*, fn. 3.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-242
5. *Ibid.*
6. *J. of Andhra Hist. R. S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 57 ff.

territories in the eastern coast of India and therefore his reference to a woman who ruled over Orissa at this time cannot be taken to be imaginary. Taking the initial year of the Bhauma era as A.D. 736 we have shown that Tribhuvana Mahadevi I was ruling in A.D. 846. Since Ibn Khurdadhbih completed the first draft of his work in A.D, 846, [7] there can be no reasonable doubt that his accounts refer to the Bhauma kingdom of Orissa during the reign of Tribhuvana Mahadevi I.

Ibn Rusta, another Arab geographer, mentions Ursfin (Orissa) and adds that its queen was called Rabiya.[8] He completed his geography in A.D. 920 [9] and would therefore be a close contemporary of the Bhauma queen Dandi Mahadevi of Orissa who was ruling between A.D. 916 and 923. But it is also just possible that the earlier accounts of Khurdadhbih were copied in Rusta's work and in consequence both of them refer to one and the same queen and not to two different ones.

The latest Muslim geographer, the anonymous writer of *Hudud-al-Alam*, who began his work in A.D. 982 or 983 for Abul-Harith Muhamad Ibn Ahmad, prince of the province Guzgan or Guzganan which lies in the north-western part of the present-day Afghanistan,[10] mentions in a continuous series five geographical names, viz, N. MYAS. HARKAND, Urshin, S. M. ND. R and ANDRAS and tells us that they are situated on the eastern sea-coast of India and that "the royal power in them belongs to Dahum. Dahum does not consider anyone (*hich-kas*) superior to himself, and is said to have an army of 300,000 men."[11] In another context the same geographer tells us that Urshfin is "a town with a district protruding into sea like an island. Its air is bad. The sea is called there the Sea of Gulfs. The royal power belongs to a woman who is called *rayina*."[12]

Of these geographical names, Urshin or Urshfin, Smndr and Andras have respectively been identified with Orissa, Samudra (the sea) and the Andhras (the Andhra country),[13] but N. myas and Harkand and their ruler Dahum still remain unidentified. In Ibn Khurdadhbin's itinerary cited above, the geographical names mentioned indicates the

7. *Hudud-al-Alam, p. 168*
8. *Ibid., p. 243*
9. *Ibid., p. 168*
10. *Ibid., p. 4*
11. *Ibid., p. 87*
12. *Ibid., p. 87-88*
13. *Ibid., p. 241*

order of their situation from the south to the north. They start from Kudafarid (the river Godavari) and end with Urshin (Orissa), but here we find the order of their situation from the north to the south. They start from N. myas and end with Andras (the Andhra country) and are stated to have belonged to the same Dahum. We have thus reasons to identify N. Myas with Mahishya, which would have been pronounced by the people as Mahis. Mahishya identified with modern Midnapore, otherwise known as Dandakabhukti, was a part of the Bhauma kingdom, as is proved by the Baud Plates of Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II who granted a village situated in Dandakabhukti. In the *Puranas* Mahishya (also Mahisaka and Mahishaka) is always associated with Kalinga and is stated to have been ruled over by Guha or Guhas along with the people of Kalinga and of the Mahendra mountain.[14] Our identification of N. Myas with Mahishya or Midnapore will not thus appear unreasonable.

The next geographical name Harkand can very well be identified with Jharkhand which was and which is still a general geographical name for the hilly tracts of Orissa.[15] Even during the age of Asoka certain portions of Kalinga were hilly and forest-clad tracts which remained under the political and cultural hegemony of the main country, but yet enjoyed their internal sovereignty. In his second Separate Kalinga Edict[16] Asoka speaks of the people of these tracts as "unconquered borderers," who in the context of the reference can be taken to be the people of the small principalities lying in the vast stretch of forests and hills that form the major portion of Orissa. In the Betul Plates of Samkshobha[17] these tracts have been described as *Ashtadasa-atavika-rajya* and in the early medieval copper plate inscriptions of Orissa they have been named as *Ashtadasa-Gondramas*.[18] In the Mughal period they came to be known as *Athar-Garjat*, a term which was probably derived from *Ashtadasa-Gondramas* and which also came down to the British period and was used by the people notwithstanding the fact that the number of the principalities included in them was not eighteen, but twenty-four. Prior to the conquest of the main portion of Orissa in 1803, the British

14. *Vishnu Purana*, translated by H. H. Wilson, London, 1865, Edited by Fitzedward Hall, Vol. IV, p. 220.

15. *Jhar* means jungle and *khand* means tract. Therefore Jharkhand means a jungle or hilly tract. A recent political party, known as Jharkhand Party, has derived its name from the popular name of this tract.

16. R. D. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 67-68.

17. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII., pp. 286-87.

18. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVI, p. 77.

rulers had established a Division known as Jungle Mahals which included Midnapore, Dhalbhum etc. with the parts of Mayurbhanj then lying in Midnapore. It will thus be seen that certain portions of modern Orissa were always known as hilly or forest-clad tracts, but their popular name has also been Jharkhand which simply means the "jungle tract." This popular name was available to the Muslim geographers and it has been corrupted or pronounced by them as Harkand. This identification is placed on still surer grounds when we find that the next place mentioned in the series of the geographical names, is Urshin which has been identified by all with Orissa.

Smndr is no doubt a corruption of *Samudra* or the sea, which in Orissa is very often pronounced as *Samundra*. In Ibn Khurdadhbih's itinerary the distance between Kanja and Samundar which almost tallies with the Oriya pronunciation of the word, has been given as 10 *farsakhs* or 40 miles, one *farsakh* being equivalent to 4 miles.[19] This would appear to be a very reasonable distance between Ganjam and the sea at the nearest point, but the place name Ganjam does not occur in any ancient record. Yuan Chwang does not give the name of the capital of Kongoda which he visited, but from his description Cunningham infers that the capital was Ganjam itself.[20] Though the name of Ganjam does not occur in epigraphic records, he justifies the existence of such a name by observing that "M. Pauthier writes the name *Kiuan-yu-mo*, which would seem to be intended for a transcript of Ganjam, of which the derivation is unknown."[21] In common parlance Ganjam is very often shortened into Ganja, and that part of Orissa is referred to as Ganja-Berhampur. It appears that this shortened form Ganja was available to the Arabs, from which the transcript Kanja has come. The Oriya pronunciation of this geographical place is Ganja, bat due to Telugu influence it is now known as Ganjam.

The whole of Andras (the Andhra country) was never included in the Bhauma kingdom but, as we have already shown, a part of the Andhra country was certainly within it. In the Ganjam Grant the Ganga king Jayavarmadeva calls himself the lord of Kalinga, but acknowledges the overlordship of the Bhauma king Unmattakesari of Viraja or Jajpur.[22] A part of Kalinga at this time certainly comprised the Telugu-speaking country. Though the hold of the Bhaumas on Kongoda (Ganjam) upto

19. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Popular Edition, 1914, p. 318
20. Cunningham's *Ancient Geography of India*, edited by S. N. Mazumdar Sastri, 1924, P. 587.
21. *Ibid*. p. 288.
22. *Ind. Hist*. Q., Vol. XII, 1936, pp. 489-93.

the last part of their supremacy is proved by the Ganjam and other plates of Dandi Mahadevi,[23] it does not appear that Kalinga remained a part of their kingdom throughout their supremacy in Orissa. It is not known when the Gangas of Svetaka, of whom Jayavarma was a member, regained their independence, but it is most likely that they continued to acknowledge the supremacy of the Bhaumas for atleast three or four generations.

We have stated above that the accounts of the earliest geographer Ibn Khrdadhbih relate to Orissa during the reign of the Bhuma queen Tribhuvana Mahadvi I and the later geographers included in their works the earlier accounts with the additions of their own. Each of them refers to a female ruler of Orissa and since the Bhauma dynasty produced as many as six female rulers, it is possible to show with reference to the dates of their composition that the different works refer to different female rulers. Such a process will however go against the expert opinion expressed by the European commentators including the Russian translator V. Minorsky that the earlier accounts were utilised by the later geographers.[24] We may therefore conclude that the information that we gather from the different geographical works relates to the Orissan kingdom in the early part of the Bhauma supremacy. These works mention the main divisions of the kingdom *viz*. N. myas (Midnapore). Harkand (the hilly tracts), Urshin (Orissa proper), Kanja (Ganjam or Kongoda *mandala*) and Andras (The Kalinga portion of the kingdom) and thus enable us to form a complete idea of the extent of the Bhauma supremacy, which is also borne out by the epigraphic evidences. The sea near Orissa has been characteristically described as "the Sea of Gulfs" which means that it is a bay. In various stages of her history the sea near Orissa has been variously known as Mahodadhi, Kalingopasagara and finally as Vangopasagara or the Bay of Bengal.

Since the royal power in these territories bordering on "the Sea of Gulfs" is stated to have belonged to Dahum who "does not consider anyone superior to himself" and who "is said to have an army of 300,000 men", we have now no difficulty in identifying Dahum with Bhaum which represents the colloquial pronunciation of the word Bhauma. In India the real names of the rulers were scarcely used by people; they were always popularly known by their designations, surnames or the dynastic names. Therefore, it was not always possible for the foreigners to know the real names of the rulers. The Arabs have referred to the Rashrakuta king as

23. B. Misra, *Orissa Under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 75. ff., p. 59 and p. 60 ff.

24. *Hudud-al-' Alam*, pp. 26-27

the Balhara of Mankir (Vallabharaja of Manyakheta),[25] which was the popular name by which the Rashtrakuta kings were known in India. *Rayina* of the Muslim geographers appears to be a corruption of *Rani Ma* which was most likely the popular name of the female ruler of the Dahum country. The independent status and the power of the ruler are indicated by the above statements that Dahum (Bhauma) did not consider anyone superior to himself and maintained an army of 300,000 men.

About the main products of the country we are told that "Extremely large elephants are found there, such as in no other place of India. From it comes large quantities of pepper and rotang.[26] In no place of Hindustan are fresh aloes found but in the (possession) of the kings of Qamarun.[27] These countries produce large quantities of good cotton which (grows) on trees yielding their produce during many years. The product of this country is white conch (*sapid muhra*) which is blown like a trumpet and is called *shank*."[28] Ibn Khurdadhbih also mentions both elephants and aloes as the products of the region and states that they are "carried in fresh water (evidently the rivers) to Smndr (the *samudra* or the sea) from places 15-20 days distant from there." He confirms the high rank of the king and perhaps speaks of the *sankha* which according to him was the peruliar trait of this county and was usually employed as insignia of kings.[29] Ibn Rusta also speaks of the woman ruler called Rabiya and of the "tallest elephants" of the country.[30]

V. Minorsky appears to think that Ibn Rusta has made a confusion between the territories of the woman ruler and of Dahum and has represented them as belonging to one and the same ruler, because the anonymous author of ***Hudud-al-Alam*** "clearly discriminates between the two localities respectively belonging to the Queen ***Rayina*** (***rani***) and Dahum."[31] Our above discussions will however show that it is the anonymous author and not the earlier authors, who has made a confusion. Our identification of Dahum with Bhaum (Bhauma) proves beyond doubt that Dahum and *Rabiya* or *Rayina* refer to one and the same ruler, the

25. *HCIP*. Vol. IV. pp. 17, 170.
26. *Hudud-al-Alam*, p. 87.
27. Qumarun, identified with Kamarupa (Assam), has been described as "a kingdom in the eastern part of Hindustan. Rhinoceroses and gold mines are numerous there. From it come emery (*sunbadha*) and good fresh aloes (*ud-i tar*)". *Ibid*, p. 86.
28. *Ibid*, p. 87.
29. *Ibid*, p. 242.
30 *Ibid*, p. 243.
31. *Ibid*, p. 243.

first being the dynastic name of the ruling family and the second the popular name of the female ruler who happened to be the reigning monarch of the kingdom when the information was collected. What appears to have been the case is that the anonymous writer utilised the earlier accounts and added some accounts of his own, but treated them separately giving an impression to the reader that they relate to two different rulers and two different localities or territories.

The picture that we obtain from these foreign accounts about the Bhauma kingdom is a splendid one. It was a kingdom much larger in extent than the present state of Orissa. Its ruler enjoyed a high status and maintained a large army. Brisk maritime trade was being carried on with the foreign countries. There were ports for the sea-borne trade and one such port Nubin (?) is stated to have been situated in "the frontier of Dahum's country (*mamlakat*). The provisions and corn (*ghalla*) of Sarandib come from this town" [32] Nubin (?), doubtfully read as such, has not been identified. Sarandib is no doubt Suvarna-dvipa or modern Sumatra.

The anonymous author of *Hudud-al-Alam* is the last Muslim writer to throw some light on the geographical, political and economic condition of the eastern coast of India. Alberuni's *India*, which was written about A.D. 1030[33], contains most useful information about northern India, but it furnishes very hazy and vague accounts of the southern and eastern coasts of India. He speaks of Arku-tirtha, Uwaryahar and Urdabishau as being situated southward towards the coast from the Tree of Prayag (Allahabad) and gives their distances from the sacred tree as 12, 40 and 50 *farsakh* respectively[34]. A *farsakh* being equivalent to about 4 miles, these distances given by Alberuni appear to be extremely vague. Sachau does not attempt to identify Arku-tirtha which is evidently a transcript of Arka-tirtha or Konarka situated in the Puri district of Orissa with its magnificent temple built by the Ganga king Narasimhadava I (A.D. 1238-1264). Though the existing temple belongs to the thirteenth century, the shrine of Arka-tirtha or Konarka is, without doubt, very ancient and has been referred to in Ptolemy's geography as Kannagara identified with Konaraka or Konarka.[35] Sachau thinks that Uwaryahar and Urdabishau probably represent Uriya-dhara or Uriya-desa and Urdhva-visaya rsspectively,[36]

32. *Ibid*, P. 86.
33. *Ibid*, P. 168.
34. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, Popular Edition, 1914, Vol. I., P. 200.
35. Mc. Crindle, *Ancient India by Ptolemy*, P. 70.
36. Sachau, *Alberuni's India*, p. 318.

but Urdhvavisaya as the name of geographical place is not known to us from any source. It appears to represent Udra–visaya or Odra-visaya which as the name of Orissa occurs in the form of Oda-visaya in the inscriptions of Rajendra Chola. According to Alberuni's accounts "Jaur's possession (i.e., the Chola empire)" started from the end of Urdabishau (Orissa), but here too the distances given by him between Urdabishau and certanin places situated in the Chola empire are extremely doubtful. For instance, the distance between Urdabishau (Orissa) and Kanji which is apparently a transcript of Kanchi, the famous city situated in the Chola empire, has been given as only 30 *farsakhs* (about 120 miles.)[37] Alberuni's accounts of the coastal regions of India appear to have been based on hearsay and therefore lack definiteness and authenticity. The Arab and Persian geographers' accounts of the same regions appear to have been based on the first-hand knowledge required for commercial purposes and are therefore much better than those of Alberuni.

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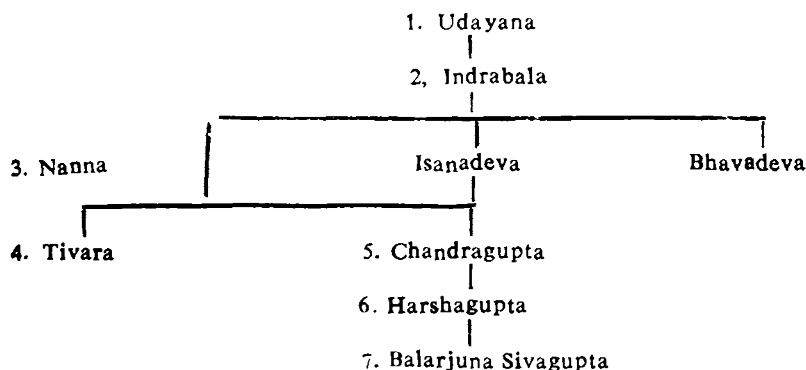
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7. The Somavamsis

Origin : A ruling family known as the Panduvamsis (sometimes also as the Somavamsis) ruled in one part of central India, vaguely known as Kosala (*Dakshina* Kosala), with their capital as Sirpur in the Raipur district. The chronology of this dynasty is still a matter of dispute, as nothing except the palaeography of their inscriptions has been available to scholars to date them even approximately. Their genealogy as given in *The Classical Age* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) is reproduced below :

PANDUVAMSIS OF SOUTH KOSALA

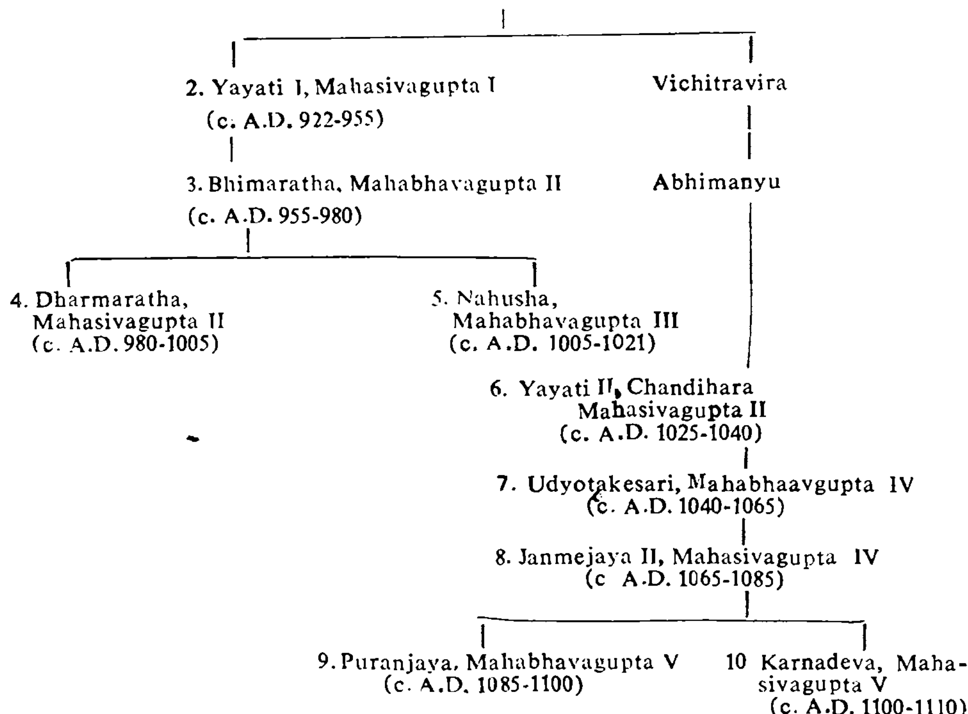


The name Tivara of the fourth king of the dynasty has found mention in some early records and as we have already seen, this name also occurs in the copper plate inscriptions of the Sailodbhava dynasty of Kongoda (Ganjam–Puri districts). But it has not been possible to establish the identity of the names found in such records. It is not definitely known whether Tivara of the Sailodbhava inscriptions was really the Panduvamsi king Tivara of south Kosala. The dates given to this Panduvamsi king vary from the sixth century to eight century A.D. This monarch has often been styled as Tivaradeva and Mahasiva-Tivararaja. Another prominent ruler of the dynasty was Balarjuna-Sivagupta who ruled at least for 57 years. There is no definite evidence to establish a connection between the Panduvamsi-Somavamsi dynasty of Sirpur with the later Somavamsis who founded a kingdom in the western part of modern Orissa, except that the first ruler of the Orissan Somavamsis, Janmejaya I, refers to Sivagupta as his single predecessor.

The numerous copper plate grants issued by Janmejaya I do not throw any light on the relation between the Somavamsis of Sirpur and the Somavamsis of western Orissa. It is also unknown how the Soma-amsis of Sirpur were ousted from the Raipur region. There are however strong reasons to believe that they were ousted from their paternal kingdom partly by the Kalachuris and partly by the Banas. It is stated in the Kalachuri inscriptions that the Kalachuri king Sankaragana conquered Pali which has been identified with Pali, a village situated in the Bilaspur district. Pali and the surrounding regions lay in the Kosala country which at the time of his conquest, was under the Bana dynasty. The conquest therefore marked the extension of the Kalachuri power towards the east, where the conqueror allowed a principality to be established with its capital at Tummana, modern Tuman in the former Lapha Zamindari of the Bilaspur district, and placed it under the charge of one of his own brothers. The principality later grew up into the Kalachuri kingdom of Ratnapura with its capital at Ratnapura, only twelve miles from Pali. It is not known whether the Somavamsis had any principality or kingdom anywhere in the Bilaspur or Chhatisgarh regions when Pali was conquered by Sankaragana. As already observed, the relation between Sivagupta mentioned as the predecessor of Janmejaya and Janmejaya is also not known and the interval between the reigns of the two is therefore unknown to us. Sivagupta has been given the titles of a sovereign ruler, but in none of the numerous coppe rplate records of Janmejaya he is stated to have been the father of the latter. Sivagupta's name does not appear in any other Somavamsi record of Orissa except those of Janmejaya. All records mention Janmejaya and not Sivagupta as the founder of the dynasty. Janmejaya's inscriptions mention only Sivagupta as his single predecessor and the term Sivagupta was a *viruda* of the Panduvamsi–Somavamsis and not the personal name of any ruler of that dynasty. Had Janmejaya been the son of Sivagupta, he would have certainly mentioned the real name of Sivagupta. A similar instance is furnished by the copper plate grant of Yayati II Manasiva-gupta of Orissa who, as we know from several records, was a collateral member of the Somavamsi dynasty of Orissa, possessing no direct claim to the throne, but who won the kingdom by his own valour. In Yayati II's copper plate grant Mahabhavagupta appears as his single predecessor and the term Mahabhavagupta was a family *viruda* and not the real name of any Somavamsi ruler. Notwithstanding these evidences Dr. N. K. Sahu states that Janmejaya was the son of Balarjuna Sivagupta.

Genealogy : Nothing was practically known of the later Soma-vamsis of Orissa after Udyotakesari and the genealogy of the dynasty

remained incomplete till the lacky discovery of the remaining copper plates of the Ratnagiri Charter of Karnadeva, made by Mrs. Debala Mitra of the Archaeological Survey of India, which gives the full genealogy of the dynasty. The recent discovery of a copper plate grant of Indraratha has added one more ruler to the family, but his exact relationship with the rest of the dynasty is still unknown. The genealogy of the Somavamsis, as it can now be reconstructed, stands as follows :



Karnadeva was the last king of the Somavamsi dynasty. There is no evidence to show that any other king of the dynasty ruled after him in Orissa or the dynasty continued in a subordinate capacity in any part of Orissa. Ranakesari, supposed to be a member of the Somavamsi dynasty and supposed to have ruled after Karnadeva in A. D. 889 or in A.D. 1107-09 is a name which has resulted from the misreading of an epigraph, as is shown in Appendix V. No such name or the date is to be found in the epigraph on which these conclusions have been based.

Chronology : The copper plate inscriptions of the Somavamsi kings bear only regnal years and no era. This makes us dependent on the palaeography of their inscriptions and on certain synchronisms. Two

earlier eminent epigraphists, Dr. Fleet and Dr. Kielhorn, placed the earlier inscriptions of the dynasty in the eleventh and twelfth centuries on palaeographical considerations, but in the light of new discoveries such late dates cannot now be accepted. The synchronisms discussed below, will show that Janmejaya I, the founder of the dynasty, srarted his rule in the last part of the ninth cenrury A.D. and the last king Karnadeva lost his kingdom to the Ganga king Chodagangadeva in the beginning part of the twelfth century. The total period covered by the reigns of the ten Somavamsi kings is about 228 years, which gives an average of about 28 years to each reign.

We have already referred to a short supplement, comprising three verses, engraved at the end of a copper plate grant of Yayati I, issued in the 8th year of his reign. These verses clearly state that Svabhavatunga was the father of Yayati I, as shown in the Appendix V. There is therefore no doubt that Svabhavatunga was a surname of Janmejaya I, the founder of the dynasty. Under the same surname Svabhabatunga he has also found mention in the Baud Copper Plate of his daughter Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvana Mahadevi II of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty. This fact has already been discussed above in Chapter-6. and there should now be no reasonable doubt that Svabhavatunga was a surname of Janmejaya I and not of his son and successor Yayati I as suggested by some scholars. The aforementioned Baud Plate contains a date which, when referred to Bhauma era of the A.D. 736 conesponds to A.D. 894. Therefore Prithvi Mahadevi's father was rulling in the Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir regions about A.D. 894 and he would have started his reign much earlier. The year A.D. 894 is thus a definite date in the Somavamsi chronology and this would suggest that Janmejaya I was a contemporary of the Kalachuri king Sankaragana who was ruling between A.D. 878 and 910.

For the middle part of the Somavamsi chronology the Chola invasion of Orissa in the first quarter of the eleventh century A.D. provides us with a definite date. In the Tirumalai inscription of Rajendra Chola it is stated that "he captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with (his) family in a fight which took place at Adinagara, a city whose great fame knew no decline." There is nothing in this statement which is of unintelligible or ambiguous character, but the variants of the place-name and the name of the ruler of the ancient race of the moon found in different Chola records, have given rise to a series of interpretations. Dr. S. K. Ayangar and following him P. Acharya have attempted to identify Adinagara of the Tirumalai Inscription with Yayatinagara of the

Somavamsi inscriptions, and Dr. D. C. Ganguly has identified Adinagara with Kalinganagara. These identifications are however hardly necessary, because in four of the inscriptions describing the exploits of Rajendra Chola, the place name has correctly been given as Yayatinagara. The variants, of which Adinagara is one, should therefore be taken as the Tamilian corruptions or be attributed to the carelessness of the scribes. Similarly there should also be no controversy about the name of the ruler of the ancient race of the moon defeated by Rajendra Chola, which appears distinctly as Indraratha in one Chola Inscription and in most of others in its Tamilian corruptions as Indiraratha, Indirarada etc. It may be stated here that the defeat of Indraratha by Rajendra Chola has found mention in twelve of his inscriptions engraved between the twelfth and the thirty-first years of his reign. The earliest mention of this event having been found in the Tirumalai Inscription of his twelfth regnal year corresponding to A.D. 1023 it is generally assumed that his victorious march to the Ganges during which he defeated Indraratha, took place in A.D. 1021. The relation of Indraratha with the Somavamsi ruling family is to be discussed subsequently, but it is to be noted here that the year A.D. 1021 is a definite date in the Somavamsi chronology.

Another date of the Somavamsi chronology is furnished by a short inscription engraved on the Lalatendu Kesari *gumpha* in the Khandagiri hill near Bhubaneswar. Prof. R. D. Banerji, the editor, has read the date occurring in the inscription as 5, but he does not appear to have noticed two other digits which succeed the numeral five in the same line. These digits are 4 and 9 and therefore, the date is actually 549. Since the inscription refers itself to the reign of Udyotakesari, this date, of which the era has not been specified, should necessarily fall within his reign. The only era to which it can be referred so that it may fall within his reign, is the Ganga era commencing from A. D. 496. The date, when referred to the Ganga era, corresponds to A.D. 1045.

It is true that no era, specified or unspecified, is found recorded in the Somavamsi inscriptions, but this inscription engraved on the Lalatendu Kesari *gumpha* was a private one and therefore, it was not bound by the conventions. The Ganga era had become widely current in the southern part of Orissa long before A.D. 1045 and so, its use in an inscription of Orissa of the period will not appear surprising or unusual, particularly if its donor belonged to the southern part of Orissa. We should therefore take A.D. 1045 to be a date falling within the reign of Udyotakesari, though it is not possible to determine the exact regnal year to which this date corresponded.

That Karnadeva, the last king of the Somavamsi dynasty, was a contemporary of the Pala king Ramapaladeva and also the Ganga king Chodagangadeva, is evident from the commentary of the *Ramacharita* by Sandhyakara Nandi and Chodaganga's Korni Copper Plate Grant. It is stated in the commentary that Ramapaladeva's lieutenant Jayasimha of Dandakabhukti (Midnapore) lifted with his palm Karnakesari, the lord of Utkala. This Karnakesari can be no other than the Somavamsi king Karnadeva, the donor of the Ratnagiri Copper Plate Grant. It is therefore evident that Karnadeva was a contemporary of Ramapaladeva of Bengal who ruled from c. A.D. 1077-1120. One Lingaraja Temple Inscription of Chodagangadeva is dated in the Saka year 1034 (A. D. 1114), which indicates that he had occupied Orissa by that time. We should put the date of the annexation of Orissa by him about A.D. 1110. The reign period of Karnadeva will have therefore to be put somewhere between A.D. 1077 and 1110.

Co-ordinatinng the results obtained from the above sources and giving due consideration to the regnal years of the rulers, obtained from the Somavamsi inscriptions, we have determined the reign periods of the individual rulers of the dynasty, as shown in the above genealogy which has been reconstructed only from two records, *viz.* the Brahmesvara Inscripition of Udyotakesari's reign and the Ratnagiri Grant of Karnadeva. It is needless to say that the dates assigned to the rulers are approximate.

Janmejaya I (c. A.D. 882-922)

In has been shown above that Janmejaya was a scion of the Panduvamsi dynasty of Maha Kosala and his relation with Sivagupta, mentioned in his copper plates as his single predecessor, is not known. The dynasty founded by Janmejaya is known as the Somavamsi dynasty, but it has never been given out in any record that they were the successors of the Panduvamsi-Somavamsis. Evidently, Janmejaya was a member of this ancient ruling family and he was a soldier of fortune. If his ancestors had any kingdom in the Chhatisagarh and Raipur-Bilaspur regions, it must have been destroyed by the Kalachuris. Driven from his ancestral home Janmejaya sought his fortune in the present western part of Orissa and succeeded in founding a kingdom which at its height seems to have comprised the present districts of Sambalpur, Bolangir and Kalahandi. In the aforesaid copper plate grant of his son and successor Yayati I, issued in the eighth year of his reign, it is stated that Svabhavatunga became king by his own manliness and by defeating the Chaidyas (the Kalachuris) spread the fortunes of his

kingdom. It is also stated in the same inscription that he was like the sun to the lotus of the Soma family and was like a full moon in protecting the Kosala country. From these facts it is evident that he was a member of the Śomavamsa and that the kingdom that he founded came to be known as the Kosala country. It is also evident that when he founded it he had to fight with the Kalachuris of Dahala or Maha Kosala. From this time the country of Maha Kosala seems to have borne two different names. The part of Maha Kosala which remained under the rule of the Kalachuris became known as the Dahala or the Chedi country and the part which was ruled over by the Somavamsis came to be known as Kosala, a geographical name which has found mention in many of the Somavamsi records.

Janmejaya's land grants were issued from Suvarnapura and Murasima, of which Suvarnapura (modern Sonepur in the Bolangir district) appears to have been his capital. Very recently a copper plate grant has been discovered in the Bolangir district, which refers to a Rashtrakuta chief as a feudatory of Janmejaya I. So, it appers that Janmejaya had feudatories in his kingdom. The Somavamsi king did not remain satisfied with his kingdom, even though it was of considerable extent. The westward expansion of his kingdom was not possible because of the existence of the very powerful and extensive kingdom of the Kalachuris in the west. Janmejaya therefore must have cast his longing eyes on the coastal strip of Orissa. In between his kindom and the coastal strip of Orissa lay the vast stretches of hills and jungles with the ruling chiefs, of whom the Bhanjas were most powerful. The Somavamsi king might have come into conflict with Bhanjas of the Baud–Phulbani tract, but we have no record of it.

As we have already seen, he was the father of the Bhauma queen Prithvi Mahadevi *alias* Tribhuvan Mahadevi II and this matrimonial alliance gave him a chance to create a sphere of influence in the coastal strip of Orissa. The chance for interfering in the politics of the Bhauma kingdom came when his daughter's husband Subhakaradeva IV died childless and there was a succession dispute between his daughter and the younger brother of his son-in-law. We have already referred to the Brahmesvera Inscription of Udyotakesari's reign in which It is clearly stated that Janmejaya killed the Odra king with his *kunta* (a sharp pointed weapon) in a battle. After having achieved this, he must have placed his daughter on the Bhauma throne sometimes before A.D. 894, which is the date of the Baud Copper Plate Grant of his daughter. Janmejaya's successful intervention in the politics of the Bhaumas did

not result in the annexation of the Bhauma kingdom, but it created for him a sphere of influence in the Bhauma country, which was taken advantage of by his son Yayati I. We have already stated the reason why this most important achievement of the Somavamsi dynasty has not found mention in any other Somavamsi record except in the Brahmesvara Inscription which was a private one.

We have taken the Kalachuri king Sankaragana (c. A.D. 878—910) to be the contemporary of Janmejaya because of the fact that the former was ruling in the year A.D. 894 which is date of the Baud Plate of the latter's daughter. The rivalry between the two kings is indicated by the equal number of surnames borne by them. Sankaragana had three surnames, *viz*.. Prasiddha-dhavala, Ranavigraha and Mugdhatunga. Janmeiaya had also three surnames, *viz*. Mahabhavagupta, Dharmakandarpa and Svabhavatunga. The claim made in his sons' record that Svabhavatunga defeated the Chaidyas (The Kalachuris) does not appear to be an empty one. The fact remains that Janmejaya succeeded in establishing a kingdom, keeping it intact during his long reign of over thirty-five years and finally handing it down with increased territories and the sphere of influence to his successors in the face of the opposition from the powerful neighbouring kingdom of the Kalachuris. He was one of those brave sons of ancient royal families, who revived the almost lost and waning fortunes of their families by their own valour.

The dynasty founded by Janmejaya I also became famous as *Kesari kula* or the Kesari dynasty and under this name the members of the dynasty found mention in some sources and were referred to in numerous traditions of Orissa. One member of the dynasty bore the name Udyota-kesari and in the *Ramascharita* of Sandhyakara Nandi Karnadeva, the last king of this dynasty, has been referred to as Karnakesari. This reference clearly shows that even to the outside powers the Somavamsi kings were popularly known as Kesari kings. Dr. H. K. Mahatab has quoted another reference to Kesari *kula* from the *Bhakti Bhagavata* of Kavi Dindima Jivadeva composed about A.D. 1512. In the list of the Kesari dynasty to be found in the *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri, all the names of the rulers of the Somavamsi dynasty known from the inscriptions, have found mention, though in a topsy-turvy order Yayati Kesari, to be identified with Yayati I or Yayati II of this dynasty, is almost a household name in Orissa and many living mounments, irrespective of their age, are attributed to his agency. The originality of the *Madalapanji* in which Yayati Kesari figures prominently, has, as shown in Appendix IV,

been vitiated, but in its original form it contained a number of historical traditions. In view of these facts the dynasty founded by Janmejaya may also be designated as the Somavamsi-Kesari dynasty.

We have stated above that Janmejaya's capital was Suvarnapura or modern Sonepur situated on the Mahanadi, but he also issued copper plate grants from Murasima and Kataka. The latter place simply means the victorious camp evidently referring to his permanent residence Suvarnapura, but not to the modern city of Cuttack which in all earlier records have been referred to as Varanasi-Kataka and which became the capital of Orissa only from the time of the Gangas.

Yayati I (c. A.D. 922—955)

Yayati I appears to have shifted his capital from Suvarnapura to Vinitapura which is found to be the place of issue of his earlier charters, but in his later charters, issued in his twenty-fourth and twenty-eighth regnal years, we find that the place of issue of his charters is Yayatinagara. Vinitapura has been identified by Pandit Binayak Misra with Binka about 20 miles from Sonepur, situated on the same river Mahanadi. Evidently Yayatinagara was the same city of Vinitapura which was renamed after the name of this king. Binka still contains a number of monuments and ancient ruins indicating that it was the capital of the Somavamsis.

As shown in Appendix V, in two of the charters of Yayati I and one charter of his son and successor Bhimaratha, there is a reference to the capture of thirty-two elephants and the rescue of the captured women carried on them, by Yayati I. This event has also found mention in a short supplement of his charter issued in the 8th regnal year, with the additional information that Yayati not only rescued the captured women but also depopulated a part of the Dahala country without caring a fig for the Kalachuri king Yuvaraja, who is to be identified with Yuvaraja I of the Kalachuri dynasty of Ratnapura. The incident refers to a border conflict between the Somavamsis and the Kalachuris. Some women captured in the Somavamsi kingdom were being taken away on elephants to the kingdom of Kalachuris, but Yayati I rescued them timely, captured thirty-two elephants on which the women were being carried away, killed the protector of the elephants and burnt a part of the Kalachuri country. It was thus a border confict between the two adjoining kingdoms but there is no other evidence to show that Yayati I had a major conflict with the Kalachuris.

His major achievement was his annexation of the Bhauma kingdom to his own, a reference to which has already been made in Chapter-6. The circumstances under which Yayati succeeded in occupying the Bhauma country, are not known, but a charter issued by him in his ninth regnal year mentions his gift village Chandagrama as situated in Dakshina Tosala, which was without doubt in the territories of the Bhaumas. This fact indicates that he had become the master of the coastal strip of Orissa by the ninth year of his reign which according to our chronology corresponds to A.D. 931.

The Bhanjas were occupying the territories between Kosala (Sonepur-Sambalpur region) and Utkala (coastal districts of Orissa) and therefore it would have been hardly possible for Yayati I to occupy Orissa before ousting the Bhanjas from these territories. That he had succeeded in ousting the Bhanjas from these territories is proved by one of his copper plate grants, issued in the fifteenth regnal year, which mentions the gift village as situated in the *mandala* of Gandhatapati. Gandhatapati otherwise mentioned as Gandharavadi in a later Bhanja inscription, is now known as Gandharadi, situated at a distance of about twelve miles from Baud, a subdivisional headquatter of the Phulbani district, and has two ancient temples still standing there. As Dr. D. C. Sircar has pointed out, Gandhatapati was apparently named after Satrubhanja Gandhata of the Bhanja dynasty of Dhritipura. The occupation of Gandhatapati by Yayati I clearly shows that he successfully ousted Satrubhanja from the Baud region. As already mentioned, two of Satrubhanja's copper plate records are dated in the Bhauma year 198, which proves that he was ruling in A D 934. It is thus almost certain that it is he who took a prominent part in the final stage of the Bhauma kingdom and set up the last two female rulers on the Bhuma throne. It is also very likely that Yayati I would have fought with Satrubhanja and ousted him from the Baud region, or else it would not have been possible for him to build up the united kingdom of Kosala and Utkala.

The re-establishment of the shrine of Jagannatha at Puri with a temple built there, was another great work of Yayati I. We have shown above how the Rashtrakuta invasion of Orissa has survived in the traditions of the *Madala Panji* as Raktavahu invasion and how the interval of 146 years between the removal of the images from Puri and their re-installation by Yayati Kesari, fits in with the chronological positions of the Rashtrakuta emperor Govinda III (A.D. 793-814) and the Bhauma king Subhakara I on one hand and Yayati I (c. A.D. 922-955) on the other.

There is no reason to doubt a genuine tradition which preserves a historical truth though in a distorted form as all traditions do. Yayati I and Chodaganga were both *Parama-mahesvaras*, but on their first occupation of Orissa both built temples on the shrine of Jagannatha at Puri, a fact which indicates the great sanctity attached to the shrine by the people at large. Yayati's work at Puri was both political and religious and was meant to be spectacular. Another tradition credits Yayati Kesari with the performance of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice at Jajpur, to which ten thousand Brahmins are said to have been invited by him from Kanauj. Yayati I united Kosala and Utkala politically and culturally and can justly be regarded as the father of the modern Orissa. The grateful posterity remembered him and made him the hero of the numerous traditions still current in the land. Yayati Kesari is almost a household name in Orissa and all living monuments, irrespective of their age, are generally attributed to him.

Bhimaratha (c. A.D. 955—980):

Of Yayati's son Bhimaratha (c. A.D. 955-980), nothing is known. It is stated in the Bilhari Stone Inscription of the Kalachuri king Yuvaraja II that Lakshmanaraja who ruled at Tripuri (Jabalpur) from *circa* A.D. 945 to 970, "worshipped Somesvara with that (effigy) of Kaliya wrought of jewels and gold, which had been obtained from the prince of Odra, after defeating the lord of Kosala." The statement shows that Odra or Orissa was under the overlordship of Kosala, so that the defeat of the lord of 'Kosala led to the acquisition of the jewelled image of Kaliya (the serpent) from the prince of Orissa. It further shows that, though Orissa had beccome a part of the Somavamsi kingdom by the second quarter of the tenth century, it had a prince of its own who must have been a subordinate ruler or a prince-viceroy appointed by the Somavamsi king. The system of appointing subordinate rulers for Orissa therefore started from the reign of Yayati I and continued in subsequent reigns. The conflict between the Kalachuri and Somavamsi kingdoms as evidenced by the afore-mentioned Kalachuri record, would have taken place in the reign of Bhimaratha.

Dharmaratha (c. A.D. 980—1005) and Nahusha (c. A.D. 1005—1021)

Nothing is also known of Dharmaratha (c. A.D. 980-1005) and Nahusha (c. A.D. 1005-1021) except that the invasions of some contemporary powers took place in the reign of the latter. Indraratha, a subordinate

ruler of Orissa ruling at Yayatinagara (Jajpur), who was appointed by Dharmaratha and who was most likely another son of Bhimaratha, came into conflict with the contemporary powers and has therefore figured in their records. We have already discussed the defeat inflicted on him by the Chola army at Yayatinagara (Jajpur) about A.D. 1021. In the earlier part of his rule he came into conflict with the army of Paramara Bhoja of Malwa (c. A.D. 1000-1055). In the Udepur *Prasasti* it is stated that Bhoja's army defeated the lord of Chedi, Indraratha, Tommanna and Bhimata[1]. Since Bhoja is known to have made an alliance with Gangeyadeva, the Chedi king referred to in the *prasasti* should be identified with Gangeyadeva's father Kokalla II (c. A.D. 990-1015). The ruler of Tummana, the earlier capital of the Ratnapura branch of the Kalachuri dynasty, should be identified with Kalingaraja (c. A.D. 1000-1020 and Bhimata with Bhimata III (c. A.D. 1005-1030) of the Sarayupara Kalachuri dynasty. Paramara Bhoja's army would have been at war with these princes in the earlier part of his long reign sometime before A.D. 1015. All the princes grouped together in the above quoted passage of the Udepur *Prasasti* belong to the Kalachuri dynasty except Indraratha who was a Somavamsi prince and who appears to have allied himself with the Kalachuris for the purpose of defence. Bhoja made an alliance with the Chola king Rajendra Chola of Tanjore and the Kalachuri king Gangeyadeva for the conquest of the Chalukya kingdom of Kalyana. Each of these allies is also credited in their records with the invasion of both Utkala and Kosala. It would thus appear that the three great powers of India, *viz.* the Paramaras, the Cholas and the Kalachuris, invaded the Somavamsi kingdom within a short period which coincided with the reign of Nahusha. These invasions might have resulted in the death or the dethronement of both Nahusha and Indraratha and must have produced chaotic conditions in the Somavamsi kingdom. To save the kingdom from anarchical conditions, the ministers of the State chose Yayati II Chandihara, a member of the Somavamsi dynasty, as king, who appears to have been a distinguished soldier and a man of great valour.

These facts are fully borne out by the Somavamsi records. It is stated in the Brahmesvara Inscription that "when he (Dharmaratha), the Rajamalla (the best of the kings), departed unto heaven without issue, all

1. *Epigrphia Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 228-238 and Plate; Bhandarkara's *List* No. 1657. Dr. Buhler reads these names occurring in line 20 as *Chedisvar-Emdraratha (Toggala-Bhimapramukhan)*, but the letters standing for them actually read as *Chedisvar-Emdraratha—Tommanna-Bhimata-khyan*. The reading *Toggala* does not give any meaning and the letter read as *pra* is really *ta*.

his kingdom was laid waste by various warriors of different countries, there was a lapse of short and eventless time. Then Chandihara, son of Abhimanyu and grandson of Vichitravira, a lineal descendant of the celebrated Janmejaya, was made king by the ministers; and he was powerful and spirited like his father." Again in the Balijhari (Narsinghpur) Copper Plates of Udyotakesari it is stated that "The two arms of whom (Yayati II) accomplished their objectives by completely rendering free of enemies the two kingdoms, Utkala and Kosala, besieged by the combatant kings'. The statements are confirmed by Yayati IIs own record wherein he is stated to have been the chosen lord of Kalinga, Kongoda, Utkala and Kosala. These references leave no doubt that Yayati II'was chosen as king by the ministers and the people and they further show that Orissa had been a part of the Somavamsi kingdom when he was chosen as such, or else the ministers and people of Orissa would not have welcomed a prince of an alien dynasty which had no previous connection with it.

Yayati II (c. A.D. 1025-1040.)

In the early part of his reign Yayati II (c. A. D. 1025—1040) must have been busy in restoring internal peace and driving out the external enemies. The external enemies whould have been the Cholas and the Dahalas (the Kalachuris) who had respectively been associated with Rajendra Chola and Gangeyadeva in their invasion of the Somavamsi kingdom. This position is borne out by the statement occurring in the Brahmesvara Inscription that Udyotakesari fought, as it were in child-play, with Dahala, Choda (the Cholas) and Gauda.[2] It means that even when he was very young he fought with these enemies of his father in the latter's reign. By the third year of Yayati II's reign when he issued his Maranja-Mura Charter, this position however appears to have been changed. Dahala does not appear in the list of the enemy territories given in this epigraph, with which Yayti II is said to have been involved in conflicts. The omission of Dahala is significant. It seems that he had made an alliance with the Dahala king Gangeyadeva of Tripuri (Jabalpur) and therefore he appears to have helped the latter by attacking

2. *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters,* Vol. XIII, p. 72. In line 10 of the eye-copy of the epigraph these names have been read as Dahala, Odra and Gauda, but the word Choda which is without doubt the same as Chola accordiog to Orissan phonetics is to be clearly found. Odra or Orissa could not have been an enemy Country of Yayati II or his son, because they were themselves the kings of Orissa. Dr. D. C. Sircar justifies the reading Odra by stating that "the ruler of Odra was probably one of his father's adversaries (*The History and Culture of the Indian people,* Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Vol. V, p. 212)". This is, however, highly hypothetical,

Gauda and Radha (South-west Bengal) when Gangeya attacked Anga. All these territories were under the Pala king Mahipala I (c. A. D. 998-1038). Yayati II's alliance with Gangeyadeva brought him into conflict with several other contemporary powers and therefore the claims made in his charter that he was at war with Karnnata. Lata, Gurjara, Kanchi (the Chola country), Gauda and Radha and that he maintained friendly relations with Vanga (East Bengal), should not be taken as imaginary. The Kalachuris under Gangeyadeva came into conflicts with all these powers and therefore Yayati too was a party to such conflicts.

Udyotakesari (c. A.D. 1040—1065)

Yayati's son and successor Udyotakesari (c. A.D. 1040—1065) appears to have had a comparatively peaeeful reign. The invasion of Orissa by Kalachuri Karna (c. A.D. 1042—1073) took place during his reign, but the Somavamsi kingdom appears to have withstood it and survived intact. Udyotakesari assigned Kosala to Abhimanyu who was probably a Somavamsi prince and who ruled Kosala as a subordinate ruler. Udyotakesari's hold on Kosala as its overlord is proved by his grant of the village Lanjira identified with a village of the same name in the old Sarangagarh Feudatory state. The gift village was included in the *bhukti* of Prithura identified with Pithora in the Padmapur tract, about 45 miles to the north-west of Sambalpur. The grant was issued from Kisarakella identifed with the village Kesarkela, about six miles to the east of Bolangir. The location of these places clearly indicates that Udyotakesari was the master of the entire old Kosala country. The letters of this charter which was issued in the eleventh year of his reign, closely resemble those of the Brahmesvara Inscription. The writer of the charter was *Mahasandhivigrahin* Rudradatta, son of Devadatta. Rudradatta is known from the aforesaid charter of Yayati II to have been the grandson of Harshadatta and the nephew of Simhadatta. This Datta family which hereditarily served the Somavamsi kings, originally came from Ayodhyapura which can be no other place than Ayodhya in the Faizabad District of U. P.

Janmejaya II (c. A, D. 1065—1085) and Puranjays (c. A. D. 1085—1100)

The disintegration of the Somavamsi state started from the reign of Udyotakesari's son Janmejaya II (c. A. D. 1065–1085). It appears from the Ratnagiri Plates of Karnadeva that janmejaya II came into conflict with a Naga king. The Naga king Somesvara I of Bastar, who ruled from

A. D. 1069 to 1110 is also credited with having waged war against Udra (Orissa). There is therefore little doubt that the Somavamsi kingdom and the Naga kingdom were at war in the reign of Janmejaya II, but the war ended in the victory of the Naga king. A Telgu-Choda ruling family, of which we shall speak later, and which was holding a feudatory status in the Naga kingdom of Bastar, established itself in the Sambalpur-Sonepur region with Sonepur as its capital. That part of the Somavamsi kingdom was thus lost to Janmejaya II. His reign also witnessed the invasion of the Ganga king Rajaraja I Devendravarman (A.D. 1070—1078), father of the great Chodaganga, which must have resulted in the loss of the southern territories of the Somavamsi kingdom. The process of disintegration would have also continued in the reign of his son Puranjaya (c. A.D. 1085—1110). We have already seen that Dandakabhukti (the Midnapore region) was a part of the Bhauma kingdom and therefore it would have also been a part of the Somavamsi kingdom. The Midnapore region must have been lost during the reign of Janmejaya II or Puranjaya, because we find from the *Ramacharita* that this region was under a feudatory of the Pala king Ramapala.

Karnadeva (c. A. D. 1100—1110)

It thus appears that when Puranjaya's younger brother Karna (c. A. D. 1100—1110) ascended the throne the Somavamsi kingdom was confined only to the coastal tract comprising the present districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore. This small and mutilated kingdom became sandwiched between the two powerful states in the north and the south. In the north Ramapala (c. A.D. 1077—1120), was trying to revive the lost prestige of the Pala empire and in the south the Ganga king Anantavarman Chodaganga (A.D. 1078—1150), the long-lived and most powerful prince of his age in eastern India, was trying to push his frontiers further north at the expense of the Somavamsi kingdom. It is stated in the commentary of the *Ramacharita* that Jayasimha, a subordinate ruler of Midnapore under Ramapala, lifted Karnakesari, the lord of Utkala, with his palm. In the Korni Plates of Chodaganga it is stated that Chodaganga reinstated the fallen lord of Utkala. These two statements indicate that while the Pala king outsted Karna from his throne, the Ganga king helped him to regain it. Chodaganga was not however helping Karna out of benevolent motives. He was merely seeking an opportunity to annex the entire Somavamsi kingdom. The ability and the morality of Karna, the last descendant of Dharmakandarpa Janmejaya, can easily be imagined from the fact that ' for the increase of his religious merits and

the fame of his ownself and his parents", he granted a rent-free village to a dancing girl, Karpura-sri by name, who had become his queen. In the charter granting the village instead of her father's and grandfather's names we find the names of her mother and grandmother, which proves that she belonged to a family of professional dancing girls. From the traditional sources we find the evidences that there were treachery and dissensions among the officers, which Karna was unable to check. It is stated in the *Madalapanji* that Vasudeva Ratha, the commander-in-chief (*Vahinipati*) of the Somavamsi army, invited Chodaganga to invade Orissa. Beyond the frontiers the Ganga king was watching the developments in Orissa and also an opportunity to invade. After receiving the invitation, as the chronicle describes it in a picturesque language, one day he came in disguise, pounced upon Cuttack and made himself king (*nata vesara asi Kataka madi vasi raja hoila*). This happened about A.D. 1110 and the Somavamsi ruling family passing through the vicissitudes of the time for over six centuries, ultimately became extinct.

After Karnadeva no trace of the Somavamsi ruling family, even as the feudatories of the Gangas, is available from any record. As stated earlier, Rana Kesari, supposed to be a later member of the Somavamsi family, has not actually found mention in the Govindpur Inscription wherein the name Rana Kesari has resulted from the misreading of the epigraph as shown in Appendix V. Apparently the Somavamsis finally became extinct as a ruling power.

Vice-regal Families of Utkala and Kosala during the Somavamsi Rule.

After the annexation of the coastal region by Yayati I, Kosala and Utkala became united under one sovereign power, and therefore for the sake of better administration the kingdom was divided into two parts, Utkala and Kosala. When the Somavamsi kings lived in Kosala with their capital at Yayatinagara, they appointed viceroys in the Utkala country, and when they lived in Utkala with their capital at Abhinava Yayatinagara (Jajpur), they appointed viceroys in the Kosala country. These viceroys or sub-kings were the members of the Somavamsi ruling family and they ruled like independent kings, sometimes issuing charters without reference to their overlords.

That such an administrative arrangement was made in the Somavamsi kingdom, is supported by several evidences. We have already shown that, from the Bilhari Stone Inscription of the Kalachuri king Yuvaraja II, it becomes apparent that Somavamsi kingdom had two component parts, Kosala and Odra, otherwise known as Utkala. In the

Balijhari Inscription of Udyotakesari, it is stated that his father Yayati II freed both the *rashtras* of Kosala and Utkala which had been seized by the combatant chiefs. In the same Balijhari Grant Rudradatta has been mentioned as the *Mahasandhivigrahin* for both the countries of Utkala and Kosala. In the recently published Banpur Copper Plate Inscription of Somavamsi Indraratha (*The Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. VIII, No. 4, 1966) it is stated that he received the fortunes of the Kalinga country through the favour of Dharamaratha (*Shrimad Dharmarathasya ballabhataya lebhe Kalinga-sriyam*), from which it is clear that Indraratha had been appointed as the viceroy of Kalinga. It may be mentioned here that the coastal strip of modern Orissa once ruled over by the Bhaumas, has been referred to in the Somavamsi Inscriptions as Tosala, Odra or Udra, Utkala and Kalinga. To denote the coastal strip all these geographical names were used, though their separate entities were also sometimes indicated by the use of separate geographical names. Even now Orissa is sometimes known as Odra, Utkala and Kalinga. In the above-mentioned Banpur charter the word Kalinga has certainly been used to denote the coastal strip of Orissa. In the above mentioned Bilhari Inscription the name Odra has also certainly been used to denote the entire coastal strip of Orissa. In the Sonepur charter of Somavamsi prince Somesvara it is stated that Abhimanyu, whose relationship with him has not been given, 'had received the rulership of the Kosala country through the favour of Udyotakesari. it is thus abundantly clear that Kosala and Utkala were the two component parts of the same Somavamsi kingdom and ill each of them the viceroys or the sub-kings were being appointed by the sovereign Somavamsi rulers.

The names of all the viceroys and their exact relationship with the Somavamsi ruling family, are not known to us. But from the Banpur charter and the Sonepur charter four such names are known to us. From the Banpur charter we find the names of Abhimanyu and Indraratha and from the Sonepur charter we get the names of Abhimanyu and Somesvara. Apparently, Abhimanyus of both the records are not identical, but it is definitely known that Abhimanyu, father of Yayati II, was a lineal discendant of the founder of the dynasty, Janmejaya I. In the aforesaid Banpur charter it is stated that Abhimanyu, apparently the father of Yayati II, was killed by Indraratha. After the death of Dharmaratha there was an internal feud in the Somavamsi family on account of the fact that Dharmaratha died childless and this gave rise to the domestic feud for the rulership of both component parts of the Somavamsi kingdom. The results of this feud are not clear from the

records, but it gave an opportunity to the external powers to weaken the Somavamsi kingdom, which led to anarchical conditions. It is only after the unification of the component parts by Yayati II that peace was restored in the Somavamsi kingdom.

The reason of the omission of the name of Indraratha from the genealogies of the Somavamsis given in the Somavamsi records, is thus obvious. He was not a sovereign king, but was the viceroy of Orissa. His name and the dynasty to which he belonged, have been clearly mentioned in the Chola records. The existence of a secondary capital of the Somavamsi kings in Orissa, known as Yayatinagara or Abhinava Yayatinagara, is proved by several evidences. The Somavamsi kings Udyotakesari and Karnadeva issued their copper plate grants from Yayatinagara which cannot be taken to be Yaytinagara of the Kosala country, because when these grants were made the former had assigned Kosala to Abhimanyu, probably a prince of the Somavamsi dynasty, to rule over it and the latter, as we have already seen, had lost Kosala. It appears that after the occupation of Orissa, Yayati I established a secondary capital in Orissa and this capital was also known as Yayati-nagara. The Somavamsi kings continued to rule from old Yayatinagara situated in Kosala, but appointed viceroys, generally the princes of the same dynasty, for Orissa to rule from *Abhinava* (new) Yayatinagara. This arrangement appears to have lasted till the reign of Yayati II when the position became reversed. Since his reign the Somavamsi kings lived in Orissa and ruled from *Abhinava* Yayatinagara and appointed their viceroys for Kosala, who ruled not from old Yayatinagara but from Suvarnapura or modern Sonepur. This position is clearly indicated by the copper plate grant of Kumara Somesvara issued from Suvarnapura, which states that the Kosala county had been assigned to Abhimanyu by Udyotakesari. The coastal strip of Orissa became a target of attack by the Cholas and the Gangas of the south and the Palas of the north, and this would have prompted Yayati II to shift the main capital of the Somavamsi kingdom from Kosala to the coastal strip.

Literary evidences also prove the existence of a Yayatinagara in Orissa. The *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri, mentions *Abhinava* Yayatinagara in connection with the events stated to have taken place during the reign of the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III. The context in which this place-name has been used, leaves no doubt that by *Abhinava* Yayatinagara the chronicle means modern Jajpur.

situated in the Cuttack district, which under the name of Viraja was the capital of the Bhauma-Karas and which the Somavamsis as the successors of the Bhauma-Karas would have chosen as their capital in Orissa. The adjective *Abhinava* (new) is significant and it presupposes the existence of an old Yayatinagara. The Ganga kings, the successors of the Somavamsis in Orissa, who established their capital at Baranasi (Kataka-Baranasi or modern Cuttack) also called it *Abhinava* Baranasi, no doubt to distinguish it from old Baranasi situated on the bank of the Ganges in northern India. In Dhoyi's *Pavanadutam* the wind-messenger is asked to proceed from Yayatinagari to Suhma. The late M. M. Chakravarti has identified Yayatinagari with Yayatinagara of Kosala, but since Orissa and Suhma or modern Midnapore form contiguous territories, it should more appropriately be identified with Abhinava Yayatinagara of Orissa. Jajpur has been described as Yayatinagara in the Oriya literature even up to the eighteenth century, notwithstanding the fact that in all Muslim sources the name had long been changed into Jajnagar. In the Oriya *Mahabharata* written by Raja Krishna Simha in the eighteenth century, it is stated that anybody who visits Yayati-pattana, gets the same merits as accrue from the performance of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. Because of its situation on the river Baitarani, the poet has merely changed Yayatinagara into Yayati-pattana, but all the same his description of the merits that accrue from a visit to the place, leads to its identification with Jajpur. There is a still *ghat* on the Baitarani river at Jajpur, which is known as Dasasvamedha Ghata A group of Sapta-matrika images enshrined in a temple built on this *ghat* are still worshipped. Whether Yayati Kesari, to be identified with Yayati I of the Somavamsi dynasty, ever performed ten *Asvamedha* sacrifices will remain a disputed point, but there should be no dispute about the fact that, in associating Yayati-pattana or Yayatinagara with the *Asvamedha* sacrifice the poet has followed the tradition mentioned above. Therefore, Yayati-pattana of his description can be no other place than Jajpur

There was thus a Yayatinagara in Orissa, now known as Jajpur, which was later described by the Muslim historian as Jajnagar. Rajendra Chola met Indraratha at this place and defeated him about A.D. 1021.

Kosala during the Later Somavamsi Period

From the Sonepur Copper Plate of Kumara Somesvaradeva, it becomes evident that Abhimanyu was appointed by Udyotakesari to rule over Kosala (the Sambalpur-Sonepur region). The relation between Abhimanyu and Udyotakesari is not known, but the former would have

been a member of the Somavamsi dynasty. It is also not known when Abhimanyu's rule in Kosala ended. His successor in Kosala was apparently Somesvara who issued the aforesaid charter from Suvarnapura (Sonepur). We have stated above that there was a conflict between Janmejaya II and the Naga king Somesvara of Bastar and that the latter succeeded in wresting Kosala from the Somavamsi king. In occupying Kosala the Naga king was helped by a Telugu-Choda family which ultimately ruled this newly acquired territory with their capital at Sonepur. But before this arrangement materialised there appears to have been a short period when Kumara Somesvara was allowed by the Naga king to become the ruler of Kosala. This supposition is borne out by several evidences to be found in the aforementioned charter of Kumara Somesvara. Somesvara describes himself as a member of the *Soma-kula* but does not mention his relationship with any Somavamsi king, nor acknowledges their overlordship. He calls himself *Kumaradhiraja* but paradoxically uses the full sovereign titles of *Parama-mahesvara, Parama-bhattaraka* and *Paramesvara*. Besides these unusual characteristics, Dr. D. C. Sircar has also noticed the distinct influence of the Telugu-Choda records on the passages like *Soma-kula-kamala-kalika-vikasa-bhaskara* and *Sri Somesvaradeva-padah kusalinah* occurring in Somesvara's aforementioned charter. It is very likely that the Naga king won over to his side this Somavamsi prince Somesvara and engaged him for sometime for his own political purpose. He made him the ruler of Kosala but kept him under the control of his trusted Telugu-Choda lieutenants whose influenceis to be found in the text of the copper plate record of the Somavamsi prince. The Telugu-Choda family which helped the Naga king of Bastar in conquering the Sonepur region, ultimately ousted the Somavamsi prince Somesvara from that region and made themselves the masters of it. They were a feudatory family ruling over a small principality with their capital at Barasuru, modern Barsur in Bastar and owing their allegiance to the Naga kings of that State.

Before the conquest of the Sonepur region by the Naga king Somesvara, it had also come under the possession of the Bhanjas for sometime. We have seen that Yayati I had driven out the Bhanjas from the Baud region including the important locality Gandhatapati or Gandharavadi, but sometime during the life-time of Abhimanyu, the subordinate ruler of Kosala appointed by Udyotakesari, or soon after his death, the Bhanjas again occupied Gandharavadi and also for sometime ruled from Suvarnapura or Sonepur. These facts are very clearly found

in the Baud Plates of Solonabhanja, son of Durjayabhanja and grandson of Silabhanja. It is stated in this charter that "sri-Silabhanja of great fame recovered by the strength of his own arms the *mandala* known as Gandharavadi which was being enjoyed by force by the Somodbhavas (i. e., the Somavamsis). His son, Durjayabhanja by name, ruled with his residence at Suvarnapura (i. e., Sonepur)."

Dr. D. C. Sircar has done invaluable work by re-editing and elucidating the copper plate records of Kumara Somesvara and of the Telugu-Choda rulers of Sonepur. The genealogy of the Telugu-Choda rulers as worked out by him and by Mr. M. Venkataramaya also appears to be correct, but we are unable to accept their conclusion that the Telugu Choda rule at Sonepur extended upto A.D. 1180. This date has been obtained by calculating from A.D. 1060 when, according to the Barasur Inscription, Chandraditya, father of Yasoraja II, was living and by assigning 25 years to each reign of the Telugu-Choda rulers. While extending the Telugu-Choda rule in Kosala upto A.D. 1180, Dr. Sircar and Mr. Venkataramaya do not however appear to have taken into consideration certain very important points. They have not considered the period of the Kalachuri rule in the Sonepur region which is attested to by the references to its conquest in the Kalachuri inscriptions and by the discovery of the Kalachuri coins in the same region. They have not also considered the possibility that Yasoraja II and his son Somesvara II might have ruled simultaneously, the former in their hereditary principality in Bastar and the latter in the newly conquered Sonepur region. Therefore, the assignment of two reign periods, each consisting of 25 years, to both these rulers was not necessary. The allotment of 25 years to each reign as they have done in their chronology of the Telugu-Choda family, is conventional, but not always correct. For all these reasons it is not possible for us to accept their chronology of the Telugu-Choda rulers. Our own scheme of chronology about the succession of the rulers and the ruling families in the Sonepur region during the later Somavamsi period, is as follows :

A. The Somavamsi Rule

We do not know the name of the subordinate ruler who was appointed by Yayati II for Kosala, but it is known that Abhimanyu, apparently a member of the Somavamsi dynasty, was appointed by Udyotakesari (c. A.D. 1040-1065) to rule over the Kosala country.

B. Bhanja Occupation

Durjayabhanja, son of Silabhanja, occupied Sonepur and made it his capital for sometime.

C. The Nagavamsi Rule

Kumara Somesvara, a Somavamsi prince, ruled from Sonepur for sometime as a nominee of the Naga king of Bastar. He appears to have been ousted from it about A.D. 1069 by the Telugu-Choda family, of which the following members ruled from Sonepur :

Somesvara II (c. A.D. 1069-1088)
Dharalladeva (c. A D. 1088-1095)
Somesvara III (c. A.D. 1095-1119)

The last ruler Somesvara III, known as Bhujavala in the Kalachuri records, was defeated and driven out from Sonepur by Jajalladeva I (c. A.D. 1090-1120), the Kalachuri king of Ratnapura.

D. The Kalachuri Rule

Since the days of Jajalla I the Kalachuris of Ratnapura remained in the occupation of the Sonepur region till reign of Pratapamalla when it was annexed to the Ganga kingdom of Orissa during the reign of Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1216-1235).

Among the Telugu-Choda rulers of Sonepur, Somesvara II and Somesvara III are known from their copper plates to have ruled at least for seventeen and twenty-three years respectively. We have accordingly assigned a reign-period of 19 years to the former and of 24 years to the latter. No inscription of Dharalladeva who appears to have had a short reign, has been discovered.

There are both epigraphic and numismatic evidences to show that Sonepur was in occupation of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura since the reign of Jajalladeva I, who ruled from *circa* A. D. 1090 to 1120 and who must have ousted the last Telugu-Choda ruler from the Sonepur region. In the Sheorinarayan Plates of Ratnadeva II it is stated that Jajalladeva I "destroyed Bala even as Indra killed Vritra" and in the Kharod Inscription of Ratnadeva III it is also stated that Jajalladeva I "by the might of his arms deprived Bhujavala. the lord of Suvarnapura, of his power in a hostile encounter." Prof. Mirashi has rightly concluded that Bala of the former inscription is "clearly Bhujavala, the lord of Suvarnapura", of the latter epigraph. We do not however accept Prof. Mirashi's surmise that Bhujavala was a Somavamsi prince and that he was a successor of Abhimanyu. We are also unable to accept Dr. D. C. Sircar's view that Bhujavala is to be identified with the Somavamsi prince Kumara Somesvara of the Sonepur copper plates. Dr. N. K. Sahu comes nearer the truth when he identifies Bhujavala with Somesvara II of the Telugu-Choda

family of Sonepur, but it is Somesvara III and not Somesvara II, who was the last of the Telugu-Choda rulers. Our above quotations from the Kalachuri inscriptions will show that Bhujavela, the lord of Suvarnapura, was deprived of his rulership by Jajalladeva I and if credence is given to the statement recorded in the earlier epigraph, he was killed by the latter. The claims of the Kalachuri records are supported by the fact that after Somesvara III no trace of the Telugu-Choda ruling family of Sonepur can be obtained from any source. Therefore, we shall have to identify Bhujavala of the Kalachuri inscriptions with Somesvara III.

A few words are necessary to explain the meaning and the origin of the surname or the popular title Bhujavala. Like Kesari and Gajapati, Bhujavala was a popular title or name by which all the Telugu-Choda rulers of Sonepur were known. It means the ruler who depends on the strength of his own arms. The *virudas* of the Telugu-Choda rulers found in their copper plate records begin as *ari-durdhara-vara-bhuj-asi-bhasura* etc. They therefore claimed that their arms were so strong that they could wield such swords as could be carried with difficulty by their enemies. This claim would have given them the popular name Bhujavala. Bhujavala as a title or surname still survives in Orissa. A chieftain bearing the title Bhujavala rose in revolt during the Bhuyan rebellion in Keonjhar during the rule of Dhanurjaya Bhanj Deo. The Somavamsis of Orissa were popularly known as Kesaris and their names with this popular designation have been obtained from all traditional works of Orissa including the *Madala-panji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannātha at Puri. Therefore Bhujavala of the Kalachuri inscriptions cannot be identified with the Somavamsi prince Kumara Somesvara.

We have stated above that the Telugu-Choda rulers of Sonepur were the feudatories of the Naga king of Bastar, but in the later part of the reign of Somesvara III their relationship with Bastar appears to have changed. Dr. D. C. Sircar has noticed that Somesvara III changed his feudatory title and even assumed the imperial title of *Chakravartin*. The Telugu-Choda chiefs were under the Naga king Somesvara I who was a very powerful monarch and had a long reign from A.D. 1069 to 1110 It is after his death or defeat at the hands of Jajalladeva I, the Kalachuri king of Ratnapura, that Somesvara III would have changed his relationship with his overlord family. The defeat and the humiliation inflicted on the Naga king by Jajalladeva have been described by Prof. Mirashi in the following words :

"These conquests brought him into conflict with Somesvara, the Nagavamsi king of Chakrakota. The latter was a foe worthy of his

steel. He (Somesvara) had defeated the rulers of Udra (Orissa) and Vengi, and had carried fire and sword into Lanji and Ratnapura. He is said to have captured six lacs of villages together with the tract called Shannavati (96 villages) of Kosala and assumed the imperial titles *Maharajadhiraja* and *Paramesvara*. The Kuruspal inscription describes him as a huge elephant which destroyed the lotuses, namely the towns, Lanji and Ratnapura.

"Jajalladeva was not slow to take revenge. He marched against the Naga king, slew his immense army and took him captive together with his wives and ministers. Ultimately, at the bidding of his mother, Jajalladeva set them free. His Ratnapura inscription proudly asks, "Have you seen or heard of such a prince in this earth ?" This event must have occurred sometime before A.D. 1110 which is the approximate year of Somesvara's death."

Thus it is after the defeat or death of the Naga king Somesvara that the Telugu-Choda Somesvara III modified his feudatory titles and even assumed the imperial title *Chakravartin*. But his semi-independent status did not last long and, as we have shown above, he has defeated and perhaps killed by the Kalachuri king Jajalladeva I about A.D. 1119, which led to the extinction of the Telugu-Choda rule in the Sonepur region. From the above quoted passage of Prof. Mirashi's work it will be seen that the Naga king Somesvara defeated the ruler of Udra (Orissa) and captured Kosala with the tract known as Shannavati consisting of 96 villages. Shannavati as the name of a territorial division occurs in a grant of Yayati I and appears to be a Prakritised form of Svarnnavati which, as another name of Suvarnapura or Svarnapura (Sonepur), also occurs in the Mahada plates of Somesvaradevavarman. Therefore, our above conclusion that the defeat of the Somavamsi king Janmejaya II (c. A.D. 1065–A.D. 1085) by the Naga king Somesvara led to the conquest of the Sonepur region, a part of the Somavamsi kingdom, is supported by the identification of the aforementioned place-name Shannvati. When Sonepur was conquered by the Naga king, the Somavamsi prince Somesvara, the issuer of the Sonepur Plates, was perhaps already there as the subordinate ruler appointed by the Somavamsi king, but the Naga king raised him up for a while to the status of an independent ruler and, as stated above, kept him under the control of his trusted Telugu-Choda lieutenants. Kumara Somesvara, originally a subordinate ruler of Kosala, emboldened by his temporary independent status conferred on him by

the Naga King, not only issued a copper-plate grant but also used sovereign titles in it.

The Telugu-Choda rule in the Sonepur tract began with the conquest of that tract by the Naga king Somesvara I of Bastar and continued to exist for a period of about ten years after his death. The occupation of the Sonepur region by the Kalachuris of Ratnapura is also indicated by the occurrence of their gold coins in that region, which have been examined by B. B. Nath. These gold coins, which were originally found at Sonepur and at Baidyanatha, a village with a temple of the Lord Vaidyanatha referred to in the Telugu-Choda records as their tutelary deity, belong to Ratnadeva II, Prithvideva II and Jajalladeva II. Some other gold coins of the same dynasty are also reported to have been found in the upper Mahanadi valley, particularly at Baramba.

There was a long and bitter struggle between the rulers of Ratnapura and the Ganga kings of Orissa for the possession of the Sonepur region which the Gangas must have claimed as the successors of the Somavamsis in Orissa. The Kalachuri records credit Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II with having respectively defeated Chodaganga and his son and successor Jatesvara *alias* Madhu Kamarnava. The Seorinarayan Stone Inscription of Jajalladeva II gives us the definite information that the fight between Chodaganga and Ratnadeva II took place at Seorinarayan, a wellknown place of pilgrimage on the left bank of the Mahanadi, 38 miles south-east of Bilaspur in the Janjgir *tahsil* of the Bilaspur district in Madhya Pradesh. The position of the battle field indicates that the fight was for the possession of the Sonepur region. The Ganga records are silent about their fight with the Kalachuris, which indirectly confirms the claims of the latter that they defeated the Gangas.

The Sonepur region continued to be in the possession of the Kalachuris and, as we have stated earlier, it came to the possession of the Gangas in the reign of Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1216—1235) as is evidenced by the Chatesvara Inscription. The long struggle appears to have ended in an amicable settlement. Anangabhima gave his daughter Chandrikadevi in marriage to Paramardideva, a member of the Haihaya or Kalachuri dynasty, who became his general and fell fighting in the war against the Muslims of Bengal. The widowed lady Chandrika built the Ananta-Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar in A.D. 1278 which still stands there. The subsequent possession of the Sonepur region by the

Gangas of Orissa is proved by the Sonepur Stone Inscription of Bhanudeva I, grandson of Anangabhimadeva III.

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APPENDIX-IV

AUTHENTICITY OF THE MADALAPANJI, THE TEMPLE CHRONICLE OF PURI

The *Madalapanji* is a traditional work preserved in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri in palm-leaf manuscripts and mainly dealing with the affairs of that temple. It has however a section, known as *Raja-bhoga*. which professes to deal with the history of the ruling dynasties of Orissa. The internal evidences of the chronicle clearly show that all the political events embodied in it were written at one time towards the close of the sixteenth century. As written history as such did not exist in Orissa and epigraphic records had not been discovered and studied, the earlier writers inevitably fell back upon this chronicle as the sole source of their knowledge of the Orissan history so far as the Hindu Period is concerned. A. Stirling,[1] W. Hunter[2] and Pyari Mohan Acharya[3] who were the earliest of such writers, have all utilised the *Madalapanji* as the source of their information, but not without misgivings about the authenticity of its accounts.

I

By the end of the first quarter of the twentieth century a large number of epigraphic records relating to the history of Orissa were discovered, studied and published, and cumulative evidences furnished by them required a drastic change in the treatment of the Orissan history, particularly with regard to its chronology. The first attempt to write a chronological history of Orissa based on the records other than the *Madalapanji* was made by the late Prof. R. D. Banerji and his *History of Orissa* published in two volumes, represents the first chronological treatment of the subject. The late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra who was a contemporary of Prof. Banerji, in his History of Orissa, written in Oriya, however mostly followed the chronology and events as given in this temple chronicle. This created a problem for the readers, particularly the Oriya readers who remained uncertain about the authenticity of the Orissan history. In the second edition of his work *History of Orissa* Dr. H. K. Mahtab discarded his earlier views about the history and

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1, *An Account of Orissa Proper or Cuttack* reprinted from the original edition of 182', Bengal Secretariat Press, 1904.

2. *Orissa*, Vol. I and II.

Odisara Itihasa, published in 1875.

chronology as given in the *Madalapanji* and fell in line with other scholars to give greater weight and credence to more authentic sources. His work represents the second attempt to write the chronological history of Orissa from the beginning to end. Although several scholars, both in Orissa and outside, have in the meanwhile thrown considerable light on the different aspects of the Orissan history, no third complete history of Orissa is yet available.

We are to determine the position of the *Madalapanji* as a source of historical knowledge at this stage. It is no use to find fault with the earlier writers who utilised it and gave greater credence to it. It has been the task of critical scholarship to distinguish and extricate fact from fiction and history from tradition. The *Madalapanji* is a traditional work and therefore whatever is gleaned from it, must pass the test of critical scholarship. The facts and dates given in this chronicle should be examined with greatest caution for the reasons analysed below.

The contents of the different palm-leaf manuscripts of the *Madalapanji* so far known, do not tally, not merely in respect of minor points, but also of major facts of chronology, dynastic lists and the events pertaining to different periods and the reigns of the individual kings. After an analysis of the differences a conclusion becomes unavoidable that the different copies have not been based on any single original work. All copies, most of which appear to have been written at different times, are independent of each other both in respect of contents and language with some common features and events in all of them. It thus becomes clear that, if there was any original work known as the *Madalapanji*, it has been subjected to a continuous process of changes, modifications, interpolations and additions. With the contents of the different manuscripts remaining widely variable, it becomes difficult to determine as to which of them are genuine and which of them are later creations.

The date of *Madalapanji* is a most relevant factor in determining its value as a source of historical information. The late Rama Prasad Chanda assigned this chronicle to the last part of the sixteenth century on linguistic evidences.[4] He has shown that in association with even the earliest events recorded in the *Madalapanji* such words as *amura* (*Amir*) and *Mogala* (Maghul) have been used and these words had hardly any chance of being current in Orissa prior to its Muslim occupation in A.D. 1568. The late Professor Arta Ballabha Mahanti who edited and published the *Madalapanji* in 1940, did not notice Mr. Chanda's

4. *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, 1927, p. 10.

view and supported the traditional view that this chronicle started to be written from the reign of Ananta Varman Chodaganga (A. D. 1078-1150), the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa.[5] There are however numerous internal evidences other than the linguistic ones noticed by Late Chanda, which clearly prove that this work could not have been written before the last part of the sixteenth century.

Chodaganga, the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa, to whose reign Prof. Mahanti assigns the origin of the chronicle, appears as a legendary figure in it. The *Madalapanji* records most fantastic stories about the ancestry and achievements of this great king. It states that Choraganga (Chodaganga) was the son of a *Randi* (i. e. a widow or a prostitute) and his illegitimate father was Gokarna. Chodaganga was playing the part of a king in a game with others boys when Vasudeva Vahinipati, the disaffected commander-in-chief of the last Kesari king, communicated to him the orders of the Lord Bhubanesvara (Lingaraja) to conquer Orissa and to find a new dynasty. The boy Choraganga then obtained the blessing of his aunt Netai, the washerwoman, who was a witch and who possessed the supernatural power of using even her own legs and her own child as fuel. Netai endowed Choraganga with her supernatural powers which enabled him to conquer Orissa in no time.

We need not describe several other stories given in the *Panji* about Chodaganga and his successors. Anybody possessing common sense will find in the aforesaid account of the *Madalapanji* a tangled mass of mythology, untruths, distortions and vilifications. Scholars are aware that Chodaganga was the son of the Ganga king Devendra Varman Rajaraja (I) and his mother Rajasundari was the daughter of the great Chola king Rajendra Chola. A chronicle which makes such astounding blunders about the basic facts of the Ganga history, cannot, by any stretch of imagination, be considered to be a contemporary record of the same dynasty. From the copper plate records we find that in the Ganga dynasty of Orissa there were fifteen kings from Chodaganga to Bhanudeva IV, who ruled in unbroken line of succession, but the *Panji* increases their number to 23, representing in a stereotyped manner anumber of Narasimhas and Bhanus as the rulers of the dynasty. The founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. bore several surnames, *viz*. Chalukya Ganga, Vikrama Gangesvara, Vira Rajendra Chodaganga and Gangesvara, but in the list of the Ganga kings given in the *Panji* Chodaganga and

5. *Madalapanji* (Prachi Samiti)—Introduction.

Gangesvara appear as two kings, the latter being shown as the immediate successor of the former. The *Panji* records a most calumnious story about the latter.

It is a known fact that kings were extremely sensitive to any type of calumny being attached to their names or their families, and persons who ventured to create calumnious stories about them or their families, were being punished with death. The *Madalapanji* is not a private work, but it is a public record kept in a public place like the temple of Jagannatha. Therefore, there is no reason to think that what was being written in it, did not come to the notice of the kings concerned and their successors Considering the fantastic stories that have been written in the *Panji* in the name of the Ganga history we cannot place its origin in the Ganga period.

For similar reasons the *Madalapanji* cannot also be put in the Suryavamsi period which started from A.D. 1435 Kapilendra, the founder of Suryavamsi dynasty in Orissa, was a most powerful ruler who carved out an empire stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Kaveri in the south and his achievements are considered by all competent authorities to be only next to those of Kharavela in Orissan history. In the Gopinathapur Temple Inscription, engraved under the orders of his own minister Gopinatha Mahapatra, the origin of Kapilendra has clearly been given in a verse which has been translated as follows by the late M. M. Chakravarti :

"By the order of the Lord of Nilagiri (blue hill) (who is) the lord of three worlds (Jagannatha), there was born in Odra-desa a king named Kapilendra, the ornament of the solar line."

(*The Journal of the Asiatic Society of* Bangal, *Vol. LXIX,* 1901, p, 175)

It is thus clear that Kapilendra was born in Odra-desa or Orissa in a Suryavamsi kshatriya family. Further, we also learn from the authentic sources that he was an officer in the Ganga army when he put an end to the Ganga dynasty by staging a successful *coup d' e'tat.* The *Madalapanji* however wants us to believe that Kapilendra was a cowherd, and once, while he was asleep, a cobra spread its hood over his face to protect it from sun. The *Panji* tells us that, Kapilendra while begging as a poor boy in the compound of the Jagannatha temple, was adopted as son by the childless last Ganga king Matta Bhanu according to the orders of the lord Jagannatha given to him in a dream, The *Panji* also adds

that Kapilendra was originally a thief and after having become the king of Orissa, he had to appoint Kasi Dasa, a thief of his former gang, as his *Purohita*.

We have already stated that the accounts of vilifying character about the life of a king could have never found place in a public chronicle during the life time of that king or of his successors, even though such accounts might be partially or wholly true. In fact the *Madalapanji* could have never been composed during the Suryavamsi dynasty of which Kapilendra was the founder. We cannot also believe the account of the *Panji* that Kapilendra was adopted as son by the last Ganga king. Had he been the adopted son of the Ganga king, he and his successors would have been known as Ganga kings but in all epigraphical records Kapilendra and his successors have been described as Suryavamsi kings. We are therefore to believe the more trustworthy account of the Sanskrit drama *Gangavamsanucharitam* which states that Kapilendra usurped the throne when the Ganga king Bhanudeva IV was busy in his wars in the south. The aforesaid Gopinathapur Temple Inscription clearly states that Kapilendra was "the ornament of the solar line." Therefore he belonged to a Suryavamsi Kshatriya family of Orissa and his origin had nothing to do with the Ganga ruling family which had originally come from the Andhra region.

The *Madalapanji* was therefore written at a time when the Ganga and Suryavamsi kings had become legendary figures, and since written history did not exist, the chronicler collected and incorporated in his *Panji* such traditional accounts as were available about them. It is wellk known that traditions strangely distort facts by connecting them with miraculous stories. The same thing cannot however be said of the *Panji's* accounts of the Bhoi dynasty which supplanted the Suryavamsi dynasty. The accounts of the *Panji* from the reign of Ramachandra Deva, a member of the Bhoi dynasty, who was nominated to the *gadi* of Khurda by the Mughal general Manasimha, have assumed the regular form of history. The chronicler has become a panegyrist of Ramachandra Deva. The *Panji* states that Ramachandra Deva belonged to the Yadu family and that he was a most powerful king. These statements are hardly compatible with the known facts of history. The family of the Bhois to which Ramachandra Deva belonged, was originally a Karana family, and the rulers of the Bhoi dynasty have been described in the contemporary Srijang stone Inscription as *Sudra-nripatis*. Obviously the chronicle has tried to raise the status of

the Bhois by connecting them with the Yadu-vamsa of the Puranic fame. There is a tradition that the *Madalavanji* was a memorandum presented by Ramachandra Deva to the Mughal general Raja Manasimha to establish his claim to the *gadi* of Khurda and Puri, which then represented the remnant of what was once an empire of the Suryavamsi kings. The facts examined thus lead us to the reign of Ramachandra Deva (A.D. 1580—1609), which should be taken to be the period of the *Madalapanji's* composition or compilation.

It is necessary to say a few words about the language of the *Madalapanji* No perceptible change in its Oriya language can be found in the entire portion of the *Panji* from its beginning to the reign of Ramachandra Deva. A number of words of Persian and Arabic origin such as *Amura* (*Amir*) *Patisa* (*Patsa*), *Mogala*, *Pathana*, *Nabava*, *Jamidara*, *Laskara*, *Fauja*, *Phuruna*, *Itwala* etc. occur throughout this portion from the beginning to end, giving a total impression that the entire portion was drafted at one time and that in the Mughal period. Only in those accounts of the *Panji* which relate to the British period we find a perceptible change in the language.

Notwithstanding this obvious character of the language some scholars have expressed their views that the *Panji* preserves the specimens of the earliest Oriya prose that can be traced back to the twelfth century A.D., and such views have found place even in the latest publications. A long statement recorded in the *Madalapanji*, purporting to have been issued by the Ganga kjng Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1216—35), is often referred to by scholars as an ideal piece of the ancient Oriya prose, but they fail to see that in the statement itself there are definite evidences to show that it could not have belonged to Ganga period, much less to the reign of Anangabhimadeva III. In the body of this statement the *Virudas* of Anangabhimadeva have been given as *Vira Sri Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara* etc. It may be noted that Kapilendra, after his conquest of Bengal (Gauda), a part of Karnata (the Vijayanagara empire) and a part of the Bahamani kingdom of which Gulbarga was the earlier capital, for the first time bore these titles which ware also continued by all later rulers of Orissa down to the Rajas of Puri, but these titles were never borne by any of the Ganga kings, nor the Bahamani kingdom or its capital Gulbarga of which Kalabarga is an Oriya corruption, ever existed prior to A. D. 1347. This anachronism and several others in the body of the text clearly show that the aforesaid statement attributed to Anangabhimadeva, was composed in the sixteenth century.

A comparative study of the Oriya language of the *Panji* and that of several inscriptions with Oriya texts, leads to the same conclusion that the *Madalapanji* was a work of the sixteenth century. Scholars attempting to push it back to the Ganga period, may cater to the needs of sentimentalism or satisfy a Puranic propensity, but their views definitely represent a travesty of truth.

The *Madalapanji* starts the dynastic history from the Satya Age, a feature which is shared by other Hindu chronicles. The *Panji* correctly represents the succession of royal dynasties of the Kali Age ruling in Orissa, but it makes serious mistakes in detailed chronology by changing the order of kings, by giving fantastic lengths to some of the reigns, by assigning absurdly early dates to the pre-Ganga dynasties, by inventing or corrupting the names of some kings and by incorporating the local kings into the main dynasties. In some copies of the *Panji* the Saka era has been used in connection with the reign periods of even the earliest kings, and Stirling and Hunter relying upon the chronologies given in the terms of the Saka era in the *Panji*, wrote their History of Orissa. The use of the Saka era in the *Panji* with regard to even the earliest dynasties, raises a great problem and exposes the fictitious nature of the chronologies adopted in it. The use of the Saka era prior to the first part of the twelfth century cannot be traced in any of the innumerable inscriptions discovered in Orissa, Bengal and Bihar. The use of the Saka era in Orissa is for the first time noticed in the inscriptions of Chodaganga in the first part of the twelfth century. It appears that Chodaganga, whose mother was a Chola princess and who was proud of his Chola lineage, borrowed this era from the Cholas. The *Madalapanji* however uses this era in connection with the events which are said to have taken place in the seventh century A.D. It is thus evident that the dates of the *Panji* given in the Saka era are later insertions.

The Kesari dynasty, the biggest of all ruling dynasties described by the *Panji*, provides the best example to show how later additions have swollen the size of this chronicle and have at the same time vitiated its originality. In the copy or copies of the *Madalapanji* used by Stirling in 1822 the total number of the Kesari kings was 36. In 1872 when Hunter used the same chronicle for his History of Orissa, their total number had increased to forty-four. In 1940 A. B. Mahanti published the *Madalapanji* and in this published book the total number of the Kesari kings is found to be sixty-five. If we take into account the names of several other Kesari kings published in different Oriya books, their total number will be not less than seventy-five.

Had not the originality of the *Panji* been continuously destroyed, it would havs certainly found to be a definite source of historical information. There was indeed a substratrum of historical truth in the numerous traditions recorded in the *Panji*. Among the huge number of the Kesari kings we still find all the names of the Somavamsi kings of the inscriptions and therefore it becomes apparent that the so-called Kesari dynasty of the *Madalapanji* is no other than the Somavamsi dynasty of the epigraphic records.

As already observed, the accounts of the *Panji* assume the form of history from the reign of Ramachandra Deva of Khurda and the *Panji* is still the best source for the history of the Bhoi dynasty. We therefore do not suggest that this chronicle as a source of Orissan history is to be totally rejected, but we repeat our earlier suggestion that every fact recorded in it must pass the test of critical scholarship before it is accepted as a historical fact. It is due to the lack of intellectual honesty that the originality of the *Madalapanji* has been spoilt, and also numerous fabricated documents have been passed as genuinely historical ones in Orissa. The process has hindered and complicated the course of the reconstruction of Orissan history and it will continue to do so, so long no strong steps are taken to detect and stop forgeries in the field of historical research. Intellectual honesty is the first prerequisite qualification for any type of research.

Most of the facts dealt within this Appendix have been discussed by the present writer in his book *Itihasa O Kimbadanti*, written in Oriya and published by the Utkal University in 1964, but yet there are still some Oriya scholars who still place the *Madalapanji* in the twelfth century and take its contents as historical facts.



APPENDIX—V

The present writer in his monograph *Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamsis of Orissa* has re-edited and translated some important inscriptions which have an important bearing on the history and chronology of these dynasties. Since the full discussions on these inscriptions have been given in Appendix I (p.48) of the aforesaid monograph, it is not necessary here to reproduce them. We give below only our translations of their texts with short introductions and comments

(a) A verse which describes the exploits of Yayati I in capturing 32 elephants and in rescuing the captured women occurs in one of the charters of his son and successor Bhimaratha. Dr. Fleet has edited it in *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. III, p. 356, but has not translated it. His interpretation of the verse also does not appear to be correct. Our own translation of it is as follows :

Trans : Having put on a smiling face at the perplexity of the heavenly damsels (forcibly) brought to the drove and having defeated the protector of the drove, he captured 32 elephants whose riders had been killed with arrows.

(b) A short supplement, comprising three verses, engraved at the end of a copper plate grant of Yayati I issued in the eighth year of his reign, gives some details of his exploits of capturing the elephants and rescuing the captured women. The verses in question have been read and interpreted by Ganga Mohan Laskar in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 1905, pp 1-26, and re-read and re-interpreted by Dr. D. C. Sircar in the *Journal of Asiatic Society,* Letters, Vol. XIX, 1953, pp. 117-124. Neither of them has given the translation of the verses and we are also unable to accept their interpretation. We give below our own translation of the verse:

Trans : That Svabhavatunga, who was like a sun to the lotus of the Soma family and who was like a full moon in protecting the Kosala country, became king by his own manliness and by defeating the Chaidyas (Kalachuris) spread the fortune. His son, like Vishnu without caring a fig for the immensely powerful Chaidya (Kalachuri) Yuvaraja, the best among those unfit to be born, depopulated Dahala by burning it; and like Rama in

the company of Lakshmana, took to the boundary (of his own kingdom) the troops of elephants belonging to the king of Chedi (the Chedi or Kalachuri country) and engaged in carrying away women, along with the soldiers, maid-servants etc. the decorators and the captured women.

(c) There are three inscriptions belonging to the reign of Udyotakesari, which are found engraved on the cave-temples of Khandagiri. Prof. R. D Banerji has edited, translated and interpreted them. Since we are unable to accept his readings, translations and interpretations, it is thought best to reproduce his translations along with ours, so that they can be easily compared.

(1) The inscriptions of Udyotakesari in the Lalatendu-Kesari Cave.

Prof. Banerji's translation :

In the year 5 of the victorious reign of illustrious Udyotakesari (Udyotakesari), on the illustrious Kumara mountain, decayed tanks and decayed temples were caused to shine, (and) at the place the images of the twentyfour Tirthankaras were set up. At the time of the dedication ...... Jasamandi......in the place (? Temple) of the illustrious Parasyanatha (Parsvanatha)...

Our translation :

In the year 549 in the victorious reign of Sri-Udyotakesari the decayed well and decayed tanks were shown (i. e. cleansed) for bathing and drinking and (the images of) twenty-four Tirthankaras were established (i. e. carved on the walls of the cave) on the auspicious Kumara-parvata. If any heretic causes even damage (to them), such a cheat (will) excite the anger of Sri-Parsvanatha by his act.

(2) The inscription of Udyotakesari in the Navamuni Cave

Prof.Banerji's translation :

The year 18 of the increasing and victorious reign of the illustrious U(d?) dyotakesari Deva. (The work of) Subhachandra, the disciple of the lord the illustrious acharya Kulachandra, (who) belonged to the Graha Kula of the illustrious Arya congregation (and belonged to) the Desigana. (Rather *acharya* of the Desi *gana* derived from the Graha Kula, belonging to the illustrious Arya *samgha*—F. W. T.)

Our translation :

In the year 18 of the ever-increasing and victorious reign of Sri Udyotakesari-deva (this cave temple) belonged to (i. e. was caused to be excavated by) Subhachandra, disciple of Sri Kulachndra Bhataraka, for the

abode of the sages belonging to Aryasamgha and coming from Garhwal. One cave temple.

(3) The second inscription in the Navamuni Cave

Prof. Banerji's translation :

(The work of) Vijo (Vidya or Vidya), the pupil of Khalla Subhachandra, (who was) the disciple of the illustrious Acharya Kulachandra.

Our translation :

The umbrella with the staff belongs to (i. e. dedicated by) Subhachandra, novice-disciple of Sri Acharya Kulachandra.

(d) The Govindpur Fragmentary Stone Inscription

The above inscription discovered at Govindpur in the defunct state of Nayagarh, now included in the Puri district of Orissa, has been referred to by Pandit Binayak Misra in his *Orissa under the Bhauma Kings*, p. 74 with its photograph reproduced in the plate facing the same page. He has neither edited it nor given its translation, but has found in it the year 811 and the name of Ranakesari. We have edited it and given its translation and interpretation in our aforesaid monograph. Its translation is given below :

In the victorious reign of Sri-Udyotakesarideva this nectar-like tank was excavated,

(e) Two inscriptions referring themselves to the reign of the Bhauma king Santikaradeva are found in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, one in an artificial cave in the Dhauligiri, about 5 miles from this town and the other in the Ganesa Gumpha of the Udayagiri, about 6 miles from the same place. Prof. R. D. Banerji who has edited the former in *Ep. Ind*, Vol. XIX, 1927-28, pp. 263 ff and plate and the latter in the same journal, Vol. XIII, 1915-16, pp. 165 ff and plate, has expressed a doubt whether Santikaradevas of both the epigraphs are identical. This doubt has however arisen from the fact that both the inscriptions have not been properly read. Our differences from his readings are numerous and substantial and therefore his translation of the inscription of Ganesha Gumpha has not been given here. Only our translation is given below.

Our translation :

In the auspicious house (i. e. the cave) the elephant-faced king of kings (i. e. Ganesa) was playfully born form the sharp point of the excavating chisel (to last) from the prosperous regin of the illustrious

Santikara till the sun and the moon exist. The physician Bhimata who is the son of Nannata and is born form the womb of Ijya, (now) asks for the quantity of paddy to last for not less than a year.

(f) Dhauli Cave Inscription of Santikara

Prof. Banerji's translation of the epigraph :

(In) the year 93, (during) the reign of the illustrious Santikara-deva, this temple of Aghyaka-Varati was caused to be made as a (?) gift by Bhatta Loyomaka, son of the physician Nannata (and) grandson of Bhimata, who was born of the womb of Ijya (and was) an inhabitant of Virajo.

Our translation :

In the year 93 (during) the rign of Sri-Santikaradeva this auspicious lodge was here excavated in the rock-boulder by Bhimata who is the son of the physician Nannata, an inhabitant of Viraja and who is born form the womb of Ijya. The first monastery was (thus) caused to be established (to last) till the sun and the moon exist.



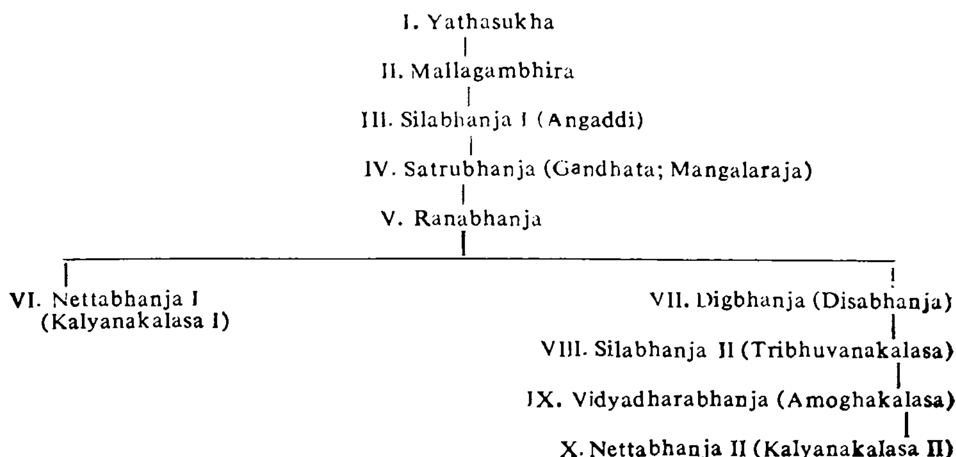
8. Minor Medieval Dynasties

A. The Bhanjas of Khinjali

It is stated in one of the copper plates of the early Bhanja kings that many Bhanja kings, thousands in number were born in the past and in their family Silabhanja was born. The statement may be an exaggeration, but it indicates that many Bhanja kings had ruled in Orissa before Silabhanja I. The existence of the different Bhanja families can be traced in Baud, Dasapalla, defunct Ghumsar, Kanika, Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar. Inter-marriage is not permitted even now among these different Bhanja families, but that they originally belonged to one and the same family, cannot be proved by any clear evidence. In one copper plate grant the Khanjali Bhanjas have been represented as *Andaja* (egg-born). In the charters issued by the Bhanjas of Khijjingakota (modern Khiching in Mayurbhanj) they have also been represented as egg-born. Apparently there was some family relation between the Bhanjas of Khinjali and the Bhanjas of Khijjingakota, but this relation cannot be clearly established. Among the copper plate grants discovered in Orissa those of the Bhanjas are the largest in number and their total number will be in the neighbourhood of fifty, but yet their genealogies and chronologies still remain shrouded in obscurity. The main difficulty is that we do not get any substantial information from the Bhanja records, which can throw light on their history. In a few Bhanja charters we get some years of an unspecified era, but scholars are not unanimous in identifying this unspecified era. The result has been a confusion, and the present writer does not think that this confusion can be avoided in reconstructing the history of the Bhanjas in the present state of our knowledge.

The Bhanjas played a very important part in spreading the Orissan culture in the hilly tracts of Orissa. Their numerous land grants to the Brahmins were meant to induce them to settle down in their kingdoms which were predominantly the tribal areas. The Brahmin settlements in these areas led to the settlements of other castes who were better cultivators than the tribal peoples. Thus the Bhanja kings, while improving the condition of their kingdoms through this process, also helped the spread of the Orissan culture and the Oriya language in these territories.

While dealing with the history of the Khinjali Bhanjas we are confronted with the problem of even defining the exact territories in which they ruled. Mention has been made in several copper plate grants of *Ubhaya-Khinjali* or both Khinjalis, but their exact location cannot be determined. Dr. R. C. Majumdar seems to be right when he says that one of the Khinjalis was located in the Baud-Phulbani area and the other in a part of the Ganjam district contiguous to Phulbani. The genealogy of the Bhanjas of Khinjali as reconstructed by him is as follows :



Nothing is known of the first two kings and the third king Silabhanja I seems to have been, the real maker of the fortunes of this line of the Bhanja family. A village named Silabhanja-pati has found mention in one of the charters of the Somavamsi king Yayati I and it has been resonably concluded that the village has been named after Silabhanja I. Therefore Yayati I and Silabhanja I were either contemporaries or Silabhanja was earlier than of this Somavamsi king who, according to our chronology, ruled from A. D. 922 to 955.

After the publication of the above genealogy by Dr. R. C. Majumdar, the Dasapalla plates of Ranaka Satrubhanja published by Mr. S. N. Rajguru and the Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja published by the present writer were discovered, which throw some more light on the genealogy and the chronology of the Khinjali Bhanjas. These charters enable us to conclude that the king number IX (Vidyadharabhanja) of Dr. Majumdar's genealogy had two sons, Nettabhanja II and Silabhanja III and Silabhanja III was succeeded by Satrubhnja, the donor of the Dasapalla Plates. Satubhanja (III)'s above mentioned charters were issued in the year 198 and the Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja mentions the year 917

which was undoubtedly the date of its issue. It is now an accepted fact that minor ruling dynasties of Orissa like the Bhanjas and the Nandas also used the Bhauma era in their copper plate records. The year 198 occurring in Starubhanja's above-mentioned plates has accordingly been referred to the Bhauma era and since the Bhauma era started from A.D. 736, the corresponding date in the Christian era has been taken to be the A. D. 934. The year 917 occurring in the Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja, when referred to the Bhauma era, gives A. D. 1653, as the corresponding date in the Christian era. By furnishing a difference of 719 years within two generations, it thus leads us to an absurd position. If the year 917 is referred to the Ganga era, Saka era, or Vikrame era, we are faced with a similar absurd position. The fact remains that Ranaka Satrubhanja succeeded his uncle Netabhanja II. We can presume an interval of a few years or decades, but not centuries between the reigns of the two. Therefore the only logical conclusion should be that the scribe has made a mistake by writing the year 197 as 917. About the reading of the digits there cannot be any scope for the difference of opinions or dispute because the digits 1 and 9 occurring in the aforesaid Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja are exactly in the same forms as they have in Satrubhanja's above-mentioned two charters and the digit 7 occurs in the Orissa Museum Plates almost in the same form as it does in the Ukhunda Plate of Prithvibhanja.

It is therefore evident that Nettabhanja II issued the grant in the Bhauma year 197 corresponding to A.D. 933 and his nephew Satrubhanja who succeeded him a year after, issued the above-mentioned two charters in the Bhauma year 198 corresponding to A.D. 934.

Both the rulers lived and ruled in the critical period of the Orissan history when the Bhauma supremacy was about to come to an end and the Somavamsis started their rule in Orissa. We have shown earlier that the Bhanjas played a prominent part in the final stage of the Bhauma supremacy in Orissa and it is probably they who supported the last two female rulers, Vakula Mahadevi and Dharmma Mahadevi of the Bhauma dynasty, to maintain their position in the Bhuma throne. The Somavamsi king Yayati I occupied Orissa about A.D. 931 and Nettabhanja II and his nephew Satrubhanja were ruling in Khinjali in A. D. 933 and 934 respectively. These dates provide a strong reason to think that either Nettabhanja II or his father Vidyadharabhanja supported the aforementioned queens against the Somavamsi king and delayed his occupation of Orissa.

During the period of the turmoil in the closing years of the Bhauma supremacy in Orissa, the Khinjali Bhanjas must have assumed a sort of independent status. This is evident from the title *Maharaja* which was borne by both Vidyadharabhanja and his son Nettabhanja II. After occupying Orissa the Somavamsi king Yayati I appears to have taken steps to curb their power and to reduce them again to their feudatory status. This supposition is borne out by the fact that Satrubhanja has styled himself in his charters as *Ranaka* which is definitely indicative of his feudatory status. The change of his title from *Maharaja* to *Ranaka* which Satrubhanja cannot be supposed to have made out of own accords, indicates the reduction of the political status of the Bhanja king, most likely by his overlord Yayati I.

The dates of the earlier kings of this dynasty cannot be determined, but it seems certain that they had their kingdom in the Baud-Phulbani area before the foundation of the Somavamsi kingdom by Janmejaya I. Among the early rulers, Ranabhanja had a long reign of 58 years and it is he who consolidated the Bhanja kingdom of Khinjali. His successors gratefully remembered him and to commemorate his memory one of his successors constructed a reservoir (*Vandha*) and named it as *Ranabhanja Vandha* or *Ranaka Ranabhanja Vandha* mentioned in the aforesaid Orissa Museum Plates of Nettabhanja.

The present writer published the Baud Plates of Salonabhanja in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXXVI, p. 276, in which the names of 3 more Bhanja kings are to be found and these names have not been included in the above genealogy of Dr. Majumdar. The donor *Mahamandalesvara* Sri Salonabhanjadeva was the son of Durjayabhanja and the grandson of Silabhanaja. It is clearly stated in this record that Silabhanja by force occupied Gandharavadi which was being enjoyed by force by the Somodbhavas i. e., the Somavamsis and his son Durjayabhanja ruled from Svarnapura. We have already observed that Gandharavadi is situated at a distance of a about twelve miles from the subdivisional town of Baud and has still two ancient temples standing there. Svarnapura is, without doubt, Sonepur. The Bhanjas thus occupied a part of the Somavamsi territories in the later Somavamsi period, but were driven out from the Sonepur region by the Telgu-Choda ruling family established there by Somesvara I of Bastar. The Bhanjas therefore played an important part in the politics of the Somavamsis. They prevented for a while the Somavamsi king Yayati I from occupying the Bhauma kingdom in the early part of the Somavamsi rule and in the closing part of the rule of the same dynasty, they occupied a part of Kosala which was the original seat of power of the Somavamsis. The Baud Grant of Kanakabhanja edited by B. C. Majumdar, also

furnishes a list of the names of four Bhanja kings and represents Kanakabhanja as the son of Durjayabhanja and the grandson of Salonabhanja. The exact relation of these kings with the rulers mentioned in the Baud Plates of Salonabhanja, cannot be established.

The Khinjali Bhanjas appear to have been originally the feudatories of the Bhaumas and the Somavamsis as none of the rulers is found in tho records to have borne the sovereign titles of the rulers of this period. They have used in their copper plate records such titles as *Ranaka*, *Maharaja* and *Mahamandalesvara* which are indicative of their feudatory status. They however appear to have assumed full independence whenever their overlord families were at a disadvantage or in the weak position. None of the copper plates of the Bhanjas refers to an overlord, but this does not mean that they were always independent. The custom of referring to an overlord in the copper plate grants was not in vogue among all feudatories of Orissa.

The Khinjali Bhanjas issued their charters from Dhritipura and Vanjulvaka, of which the latter has been identified by Pandit Binayak Mishra with Banjania in the Ghumsar region of the Ganjam district, but the former has not yet been identified. It however seems most probable that Dhritipura now represents the subdivisional town of Baud in which four ancient temples and one colossal image of a Dhyani Buddha are still to be found. The temples and the image can be assigned to the 9th-10th century A.D. on stylistic ground. Evidently Dhritipura and Vanjulvaka were the capitals of the two parts of Khinjali and Dhritipura was the earlier of the two.

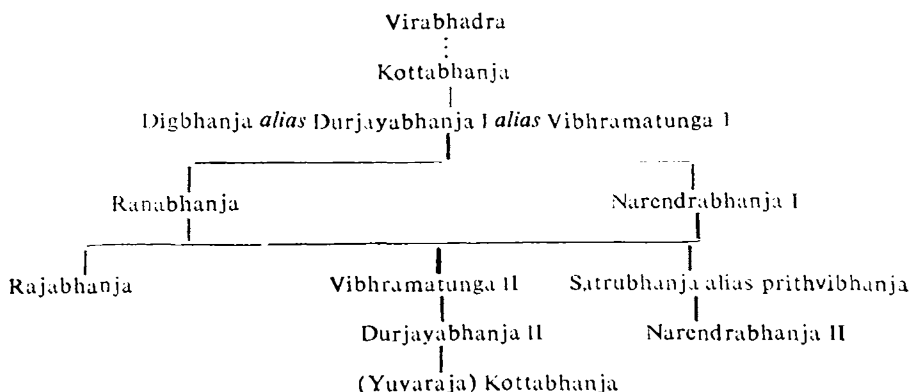
B. The Bhanjas of Khijjingakota

Another group of Bhanja kings issued their copper plate charters from Khijjingakota, identified by all scholars with Khiching in Mayurbhanj, where three ancient temples and several sculptures preserved in a small Museum, are still to be found. We have already referred to a copper plate grant of Silabhanja in which the Khinjali Bhanjas have been described as *Andaja* (egg-born). In the charters of the Khijjinga Bhanjas it is stated that a ruler called *Ganadanda* Virabhadra, who seems to have been the founder of the dynasty, was born by breaking open the pea-hen's egg and was nurtured by the sage Vasishtha. This traditional account is apocryphal and cannot be accepted as a historical account of the origin of the family, but, as we have observed earlier, this story of the Bhanjas having been born from an egg appears to point to the fact that Bhanjas of Khinjali and the Bhanjas of Khijjinga were originally one family, but since their kingdoms were far removed from each other, they became oblivious of their common ancestry and even adopted different *Gotras*.

We have already referred to Disabhanja of the Sitabhinji mural painting in Keonjhar, who has been placed by T. N. Ramachandran and Dr. R. C. Majumdar in the fourth-fifth century A.D. The Bhanjas thus started their existence as rulers from the Gupta period and continued their existence as such till the merger of their states with Orissa in 1947-49. It is therefore apparent that they were one of the oldest ruling families of India. Obliivous of their remote origin the *Chamu Karanas* of Mayurbhanj represented the Bhanja rulers as a branch of the Rajput rulers of Jaipur in Rajputana. Prof. R. D. Banerji .has totally rejected this fabricated account about the Rajput origin of the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj. It is just possible that the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar were the later descendants of Disabhanja of the mural painting at Sitabhinji. There is a tradition that Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar were at one time one kingdom, but it was divided into two by two brothers, Adibhanja and Jyotibhanja. It is not very unlikely that both these territories were one kingdom and their common ancestor was the above-mentioned Disabhanja, even though their connected history is not available to us.

Of late a long inscription in early Gupta script engraved on the pedestal of a Nataraja image discovered at Asanapat in Keonjhar, has been published in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XIII, July, 1965, No. 2. It purports to give the history of Satrubhanja who apparently created the image and built a shrine for it. The inscription represents Satrubhanja as a most powerful ruler who in point of antiquity and powers can be only next to Kharavela in Orissan history. The contents of this inscription are still to be accepted by scholars and therefore we do not intend to comment upon them.

The genealogy of the Bhanjas of Khijjinga has been reconstructed by Dr. R. C. Majumdar as follows :



Ranabhanja has been styled as *Maharaja* and sometimes as *Maharajadhiraja*. The latter title is indicative of a status higher than a feudatory. It seems that the Bhanjas were *de facto* sovereign rulers, but it is not very unlikely that they might have loosely acknowledged the supremacy of the Bhaumas and the Somavamsis. We have already stated that it was not always a custom with the minor dynasties of Orissa to refer to their overlords in their copper plate charters.

We find two specific dates for Ranabhanja, viz, 288 and 293 and Dr. Majumdar says that these dates cannot be referred to the Bhauma era since the Bhauma dynasty did not continue beyond 200 years of their era. It may however be pointed out that the eras continue to be used even after the extinction of the dynasties or the rulers who started them. The Harsha era of A D 606 continued to be used long after the death of Harshavardhana. We therefore refer the above mentioned dates to the Bhauma era of A.D. 736 and thus get A.D. 1024 and A.D. 1029 falling in the reign of Ranabhanja. The only objection to this calculation will perhaps be that in the copper plates the dates have been expressed in symbols, which according to the conventional opinions ceased to be used after the 10th century A.D. This convention does not seem to have been observed by the Bhanjas in the secluded area of their capital. Since Ranabhanja was ruling in the early part of the eleventh century his predecessors Kottabhanja and Digbhanja would have ruled in the 10th century A.D. The temples and the sulptures still to be found at Khiching, which we shall discuss later, also support this conclusion.

An inscription engraved on the pedestal of an Avalokitesvara image preserved in the Khiching Museum gives out that this image was donated by Dharani Varaha for the sake of fame in the reign of Rayabhanja who has been identified with Rajabhanja, son of Ranabhanja. The donor seems to have been a member of the Varaha ruling family of Banai, of which we shall speak later on. Although the Bhanja rulers were the worshippers of Siva, they tolerated the religious activities of the Buddhists and allowed the Buddhist images to be carved with the names of the kings engraved on them. A small mound locally known as Itamundi, situated not far from the main temple of Khiching, was excavated in 1938 and found to be a small Buddhist *stupa* with the relics in the shape of *ashes* buried in it. An image of a Jaina Tirthankara is to be found in the collection of the sculptures preserved in the Khiching Museum. It is therefore evident that, though the Bhanjas were the followers of Siva, they tolerated the existence of other sects.

It is clearly stated in all the charters issued from Khijjingakota that the donors were all the devotees of Siva. Their copper plate grants open with an invocation to Siva and represent the donors as the rulers who lessened their sins through the worship of the feet of Hara.

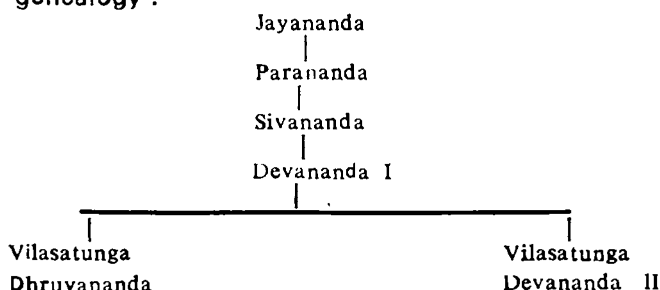
The later Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj became the worshippers of *Sakti*, and a Chamunda, now enshrined in the main temple of Khiching, came to be regarded as their tutelary deity. The original name of this deity was Khijjingesvari or Khichingesvari, but the mythological-minded people transformed it into Kichakesvari. When the rulers of Mayurbhanj transferred their capital from Khiching to Bahalada in the Bamanghati subdivision, they did not remove Kichakesvari from Khiching to Bahalada, but created a female deity of the same name which is still being worshipped at Bahalada under the name of Kichakesvari. Next, when they transferred their capital to Hariharapura in the Sadar subdivision of Mayurbhanj there too they created an image known as Kichakesvari and worshipped it as their tutelary deity. When they made their last capital at Baripada, they got this image removed from Hariharapura to Baripada, where in a small temple within the compound of the former palace of the ruler it is still being worshipped under the name of Kichakesvari. The history of the tutelary deity of Mayurbhanj as sketched above, indicates that the Bhanjas of the copper plate grants and the later Bhanjas ruling in Mayurbhanj, belonged to one and the same dynasty and they ruled in an unbroken line of succession till their extinction as ruling family in 1949. Dr. R. C. Majumdar states that in a royal *Sanad* dated A. D. 1713-14 the ancestor of this family is described as having been born of the egg of a pea-hen and nursed by the sage Vasishtha. This tradition, as we have already seen, also occurs in the Bhanja copper plate grants. There is therefore no doubt that the Bhanjas of the copper plate records and the later Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj belonged to a continuous line of the rulers of the same family.

Of the other Bhanja kings of the above genealogy, nothing is known, but it seems probable that some of the later monuments of Khiching were created during their rule. The successors of Ranabhanja created a reservoir (*Vandha*) which still exists at Khiching under the name of Ranarang, no doubt a corruption of Ranaraj. We have seen that Khinjail Bhanjas also created a reservoir (*Vandha*) and named it as *Ranabhanja Vandha*. At Khiching the remains of two forts, known as Kichakagada and Biratagada, still exist and trial excavations in these places have resulted in the discovery of several antiquities now preserved

in the Khiching Museum. These forts were undoubtedly the royal residences of the Bhanjas of the copper plate grants.

C. The Nandas of Jayapura

The existence of a ruling dynasty with their names ending with *Nanda* has been traced from several copper plate records and they furnish the following genealogy :



Their grants have all been issued from Jayapura and this place, presumably the capital of the Nanda family of Orissa, has been identified with Jajpur of the Cuttack district by Dr. A. Banerji-Sastri and with Jeypur or Jeypore, in the Koraput district of Orissa, by Mr. N. Tripathi. Both of these identifications are open to serious objections. As Jajpur cannot be regarded as a corruption of Jayapura, and as it was known as Viraja in the eighth or ninth century A.D. when it was held as capital by the Bhauma kings of Orissa, the identification proposed by Dr. Banerji-Sastri should be ruled out of consideration. As regards Mr. Tripathi's proposed identification, though no objection can be taken to it from phonetic point of view, several considerations prevent us from taking it as conclusive. On an examination of the place-names mentioned in the grants of the dynasty, it is revealed that Airavatta *mandala* which included the *vishaya* of Potoda has been mentioned in the Talmul Plate of Dhruvanandadeva and also in the Balijhari Plates of Udyotakesari Mahabhavagupta. This *mandala* must be taken to have comprised a tract of land along the Mahanadi river in view of the fact that the gift village Kontalanda. mentioned in the last-named charter, has pointedly been spoken of as situated on the bank of that river. So, if Jayapura is to be taken identical with Jeypur of the Koraput district,we have to suppose that the territories ruled over by Devananda and Dhruvananda extended far to the south-west of the Mahanadi river on the north. But their dominion over such vast territories is not warranted by their records which do not even give the title of *Maharaja* before their names, nor mention a single conquest to their credit. They must have been feudatories of some paramount power in Orissa as is indicated by their titles *Paramabhattaraka*

Samadhigatapanchamahasabda Mahasamantadhipati. Besides, Jayananda, the first known ruler of the family, probably the founder of the dynasty, has been credited with the conquest of the whole of Gondrama, which, as will be shown below, meant the hilly tracts formerly ruled over by the feudatory chiefs of Orissa, but never any tract along the Bay of Bengal. The last but not the least important is the fact that, if these plates of the Nanda family were issued from Jeypur of the Koraput district, it is rather strange that the southern influence so conspicuous on the copper plates issued from Kalinganagara and Svetaka, should have been completely absent from the palaeography of their records. The present writer, therefore, suggests the identification of Jayapura of our records with Jaipur, a village situated in the Dhenkanal district from which and from the adjoining Narasinghpur subdivision all the three copper plate grants mentioning the name of Airavatta *mandala* are reported to have hailed. Jayapura, as its name suggests was possibly founded by Jayananda, the first ruler of the Nanda family.

The donors of these copper plate grants called themselves *Nondodbhavas* or simply as of *Nanda-kula*. Mr. N. Tripathy concludes from these expressions that the family of Jayanande was an off-shoot of the imperial Nandas of Magadha, but this conclusion does not seem to have been based on sufficient data. What seems to be probable is that the suffix *ananda* was peculiar to the name of this family as *tunga, kara, stambha* and the like were peculiar to the names of some other royal families of Orissa. And as these suffixes gave distinct names to these families, the suffix *ananda* did the same in the case of the royal family of Jayananda. The confusion between *nanda* and *ananda* seems to have been one as between *kara* and *akara*, illustrated in the case of the *kara* family of Orissa, in which the second component part of some names is not *kara*, but *akara e. g.* Subhakara. Nanda family of Orissa is not known from any other sources except from their copper plate records.

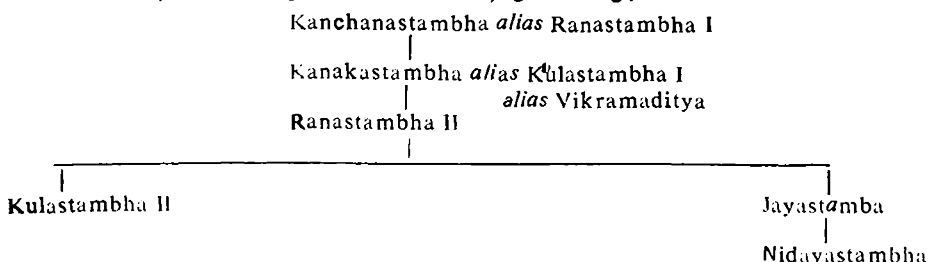
The Talmul Plate of Dhruvanandadeva records a date at the end of the inscription, which was read by Mr. N. Tripathy as 283, but which was corrected by Dr. D. R. Bhandarker into 293 and suggested to be referred to the Harsha era of of A.D. 606. Since the Harsha era was never used in any of the Orissan inscriptions, Dr. Bhandarker's suggestion can not now be accepted. The Bhauma era was not only used in the Bhauma records, but also in the records of their feudatories and contemporaries. The date 293 occurring in the abovementiened Talmul Plate should therefore be referred to the Bhauma era of A. D. 736. Dhruvanandadeva was therefore ruling in A. D. 1029. The family probably

originated in the 9th century A. D. and they were the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas and the Somavamsis as their titles indicate. Like the other feudatories of this period they have not referred to their overlords in their copper plate records.

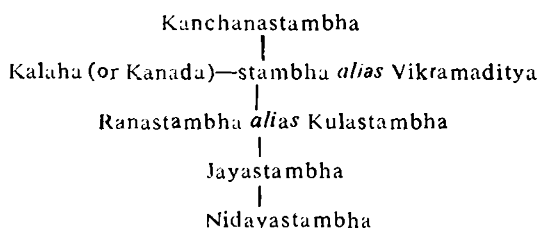
The Nandas have been described in their inscriptions as the masters of *Ashtadasa Gondrama*. It was a geographical expression meaning a group of eighteen tracts of land and seems to be the same as *Ashtadasa-atavi-rajya* (eighteen forest chiefdoms) of the Betul Plates of Samkshobha. The name *Ashtadasa Gondrama* applied to these tracts was probably due to the pre-dominance of the Ganda tribes over other aboriginal tribes inhabiting these parts, and seems to have survived in the geographical expression *athara gadhjat* applied to the former feudatory states of Orissa by the people, though, as a matter of fact, their number was not eighteen, but twenty-four. It should be noted in this connection that the credit of having conquered the whole *Gondrama* given to the rulers of this dynasty, may just be an exaggeration.

D. The Sulki Rulers of Kodalaka Mandala.

Pandit Binayak Misra gives a list of the nine copper plate grants of this family and some more of their records are still being discovered. But these records do not furnish us with any substantial information which can enable us to throw some light on the history of this ruling family. Pandit Binayak Misra gives their family genealogy as follows :



But the following genealogy of the Sulkis given by Dr. R.C. Majumdar differs at some material points from the genealogy reconstructed by Pandit Misra.



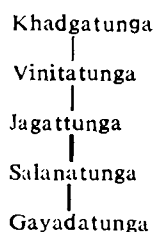
The origin of the family is not free from doubts. Some scholars think that they were probably the Sulikas mentioned in the Haraha

inscription of the Maukhari king Isanavarman, while others trace their origin to the modern Sulkis of Midnapore and the Saulika of the *Brihat-samhita* and *Markandeya Purana*. They might have as well been the original inhabitants of Orissa. The copper plate grants of the Sulkis mention some geographical names which enable us to identify the territory over which they ruled. Their kingdom comprised the former states of Talcher and Dhenkanal.

The Dhenkanal Grant of Ranastambha contains a date which has been interpreted by Pandit Binayak Misra as 103 which, when referred to the Bhauma era of A. D. 736, gives us A. D. 839. They therefore seem to have been the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas.

E. The Tungas of Yamagartta-mandala.

Some copper plate records of the Tunga ruling family provide us with a few facts about their history. Pandit Binayak Misra gives the following tentative genealogy of the family.



It is claimed in their copper plate records that their forefathers came from Rohitasa (Modern Rohitasagarh in Shahbad of Bihar). The territory over which they ruled was Yamagartta-*mandala*, identified with Jamagadia in Angul or Jomurdi in Pallahara. Gayadatunga is described as *Samadhigata-panchamahasavda* which is distinctly indicative of his feudatory status. "The Talcher Plate of Sivakaradeva dated 149 (A D. 885) records a grant of land in Purvarashtravishaya by the Kara king at the request of Ranaka Sri Vinitatunga. This Ranaka is probably the same as is mentioned in the Banai Grant together with his son Khadgatunga and grandson Vinitatunga II, ruler of eighteen *Gondramas* including Yamagartta." The above quotation taken from Dr. Majumdar's account of the Tungas will indicate that they were the contemporaries and the feudatories of the Bhauma-Karas Like the Nandas and the Sulkis, the Tungas claim to have been the masters of eighteen *Gondramas*, but this claim is apparently an exaggeration. None of these above-mentioned dynasties could have brought under their rule all the hilly tracts of Orissa which vaguely came to be known as *Ashtadasa Gondramas*.

F. Jayasimha of the Unkown Family.

A single copper plate grant of Jayasimha was found in the former Dhenkanal state and its text begins with "*Mandakini-kula-vasakat-praptapanchamahasavda*" which clearly indicates that Jayasimha got his rulership from the residence situated on the bank of the river Mandakini. Since the river Mandakini still flows through Jajpur and the Bhauma-Karas had their residence somewhere in this area, it is apparent that the donor was a feudatory of the Bhauma-Karas. The village donated was situated in Yamagartta-*mandala* which, as we have seen above, was also included within the territories ruled by the Tungas. Since Jayasimha's grant does not bear any date, it cannot however be said whether the Tungas succeeded Jayasimha as rulers in the same territory.

G. The Varahas of Banai

The dynasty is known from two copper plate records found in the former Banai state. They record the names of the following rulers of the dynasty :

Uditavaraha
|
Tejovaraha
|
Udayavaraha

The family claims to have migrated from Chitrakuta which cannot be identified. The donor Udayavaraha bears the title *Paramasaugata Samadhigatapanchamahasavda Maharaja Ranaka,* which indicate that he was a Buddhist by faith and his status was that of a feudatory. It cannot however be ascertained as to whose feudatory he was, nor can the date of his record be determined as it contains no date whatsoever. The seal bears a peacock and this suggests some sort of connection between the Bhanjas of Mayurbhanj and the Varahas of Banai. In the territories of both the dynasties, the killing of the peacock was prohibitted. Besides, as we have already seen, one Dharani Varaha figures in the inscription engraved on the pedestal of an Avalokitesvara image at Khiching and we have suggested that this Dharani Varaha might have been a member of the Varaha family of Banai. This suppossition gains ground from the fact that both Udayavaraha and Dharanivaraha were Buddhists The former bears the Buddhist title *Paramasaugata* and the latter caused a Buddhist image to be carved. Rayabhanja to whom Dharanivaraha has referred to in the above pedestal inscription, ruled in the tenth century A D. Therefore Udayavaraha and his family can be placed in the same century.

H. The Dhavalas.

About the Dhavala ruling family Dr. R. C. Majumdar makes the following observation :

"A copper plate grant now in the Madras Museum, gives us the name of a king named Narendra-dhavala, who is not known from any other source. Some internal evidence shows that he was either a contemporary of the Bhania king Silabhanja I or ruled before his time and his reign may be placed in the tenth century A. D.

Kings with names ending in 'dhavala' are known to have ruled in medieval Orissa, and even now the members of the Dompara Raj family of the Cuttack district have similar name-endings. There was evidently a 'Dhavala' ruling family of whom the only ancient ruler so far known is Narendra-dhavala. The territory known as Dhavalabhumi or Dhalbhum may be presumed to have derived its name from this ruling family.

I. Rashtrakutas

The existence of a Rashtrakuta ruling family in western Orissa is proved by the Bargarh Copper Plate Charter edited by Dr. D. C. Sircar in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXX (P. 136 ff.) and elucidated by Dr. J. K. Sahu in the *Proceedings of the Orissa History Congress*, 1978, (p. 28 ff). It gives the following genealogy of the family :

Mahamandalesvara Mahamndalika

Ranaka Chamaravigraha
|
Dhamsaka
|
Ranaka Parachakrasalya

The charter dated in *Samvat* 56, was issued from Bagharakotta which has been identified with Bargarh, a wellknown town in the Sambalpur region Dr. Sircar refers the *Samvat* 56 to the Chalukya—Vikrama era of A.D. 1076 and thus gets A D. 1131-32 as the date of the charter. Dr. Sahu rejects this view and rightly says that there is absolutely no evidence to show that the Chalukya era was ever in use in western Orissa and that the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI ever invaded Kosala which certainly included the Sonepur-Sambalpur-Bolangir region. Dr. Sahu's view that the *Samvat* 56 represents the regnal year of the donor appears to be correct. We have discussed above (Chapter-7, p. 117) at some length the Kalachuri occupation of the Sonepur region and it need not be repeated here.

Another set of copper plates numbering three, discovered in the village Degaon in the Bolangir district also proves the existence of a Rashtrakuta ruling family in western Orissa. The donor, whose name has been read as Mugdhagandoladeva, acknowledges the overlordship of the Somavamsi king Janmejaya who is apparently to be identified with Janmejaya II. The copper plates are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar and are yet to be edited and published. Their discovery has been reported to the present writer by Dr. B. K. Rath of the Orissa State Archaelogy. I appears that the Rashtrakuta chief, the donor of the Tarabha Grant., issued this grant during the rule of the Somavamsi king Janmejaya as his feudatory.

We have stated earlier in Chapter-6 (pp. 78-79) that the Rashtrakutas under Govinda III (A.D. 798—814) invaded Orissa in the reign of the Bhauma king Subhakara I. The Sanjan Plates of Amoghavarsha state that Govinda III conquered Kosala, Kalinga, Vanga, Dahala and Odraka (Orissa). The evidence provided by the Sanjan Plates shows that the Rashtrakutas under Govinda III either occupied Orissa or brought it under their political hegemony. We have shown further in the above mentioned Chapter-6 that the Rashtrakuta invasion of Orissa has been described in the *Madalavanji* in a strangely distorted form as Raktavahu invasion and that Rajamalla I (A.D. 817-853), the Western Ganga king of Mysore who was the father of the Bhauma queen Tribhuvana Mahadevi I (A. D. 846), put an end to the Rashtrakuta and Pala domination in Orissa. A passage in the Hindol Plate of Subhakara III also appears to hint at a calamity that had overcome Subhakara I.

Govinda III's invasion of Orissa is thus supported by the epigraphpic records and the tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji*, but his invasion of Kosala did not yet receive any corroboration from any source in Orissa, The Bargarh and Degaon Charters seem to supply the needed corroboration It is almost certain that the founders of the Rashtrakuta ruling families of Kosala were either the soldiers or the lieutenants of Govinda III's army and they chose to settle down in western Orissa after the invasion was over.

J. Jayarnnama of Uncertain Family

A charter of three copper plates recently discovered at Kamalpur in Bolangir district and edited and published by the present writer in the *Journal of Orissan History, Vol. 1. No. 1, 1980.* records the grant of the village Vadakela situated in the *mandala* of Kolada to a Brahmin named

Paramakara by Ranaka Sri Jayarnnama. The donor acknowledges the overlordship of the Somavamsi king Karnadeva who has been given the full sovereign titles, and also records the seventh regnal year of his overlord. The donor is represented as a member of the egg-born family (*andaja-vamsa*), as the receiver of the boons from Stambhesvari and as belonging to the Maharashtra family. These claims except the last one, are also made by the Bhanja rulers in their copper plate grants. So it becomes difficult to decide whether Jayarnnama was of the Bhanja or Maratha origin.

A passage of the charter suggests that Kolada was situated along the sea-coast. Kolada was the capital of one later Bhanja family and it still exists under the same name in the neighbourhood of Bhanjanagara, a subdivisional headquarters of the Ganjam district. The record therefore proves that Karnadeva, the last Somavamsi king, was in possession of Ganjam upto his seventh regnal year which according to our chronology corresponds to A. D. 1107. The Ganga king Chodaganga had not yet succeeded in conquering the Ganjam area.

The copper plate charter has been acquired by the Orissa State Museum, Bhubsneswar, and is now preserved there. It requires further study and elucidation.

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9. K. C. Panigrahi — "Baudh Plates of Salonabhanja" *Epigrphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI

10. K. C. Panigrahi — "Baripada Museum Plate of Devanandadeva", *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI.

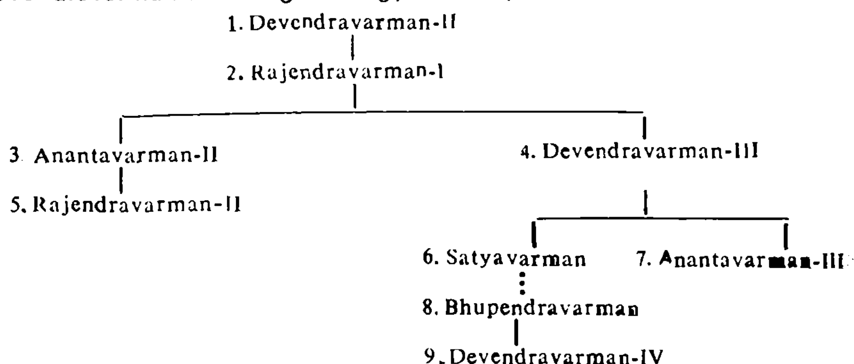
11. P. Acharya — "The Bonai Copper plates of Udaya Varaha Deva", *The Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XXVI Part III, 1945.

12. K. C. Panigrahi — Kamalpur Copper Plate Grant of the Reign of Karnadeva", *The Journal of Orissan History*, Vol, I, No. 1, PP. 1—5, 2 plates.

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9. The Early Gangas and the Greater Gangas

We have given an account of the early Gangas in chapter IV. From Devendravarman II their genealogy can be presented as follows :



The rulers of the early Ganga dynasty left to us a number of copper plate grants, but with no history. These records give us the order of succession of the kings and mostly mention the years in the Ganga era which, as we have observed earlier, commenced from A.D. 496 according to a generally accepted view. They all ruled from Kalinganagara identified with modern Mukhalingam in the Srikakulam district of Andhra. It is not yet settled whether the early Eastern Gangas were a branch of the Western Gangas who ruled in Mysore. Mr. R. Subbarao gives the following reasons to show that the Western Gangas and the Eastern Gangas did not belong to one and the same dynasty :

1. The early Gangas of Mysore were Jainas and belonged to the Ikshvaku dynasty and the Solar Line and their *Gotra* was Kanvayana, but the Gangas of Kalinga were Saivas and belonged to the Lunar Line and their *Gotra* was Atreya.

2. In the numerous copper plate grants of the Gangas of Kalinga there is no mention that they migrated from Mysore.

3. The symbols and the seals on the copper plate grants of the Mysore Gangas and the Kalinga Gangas are different.

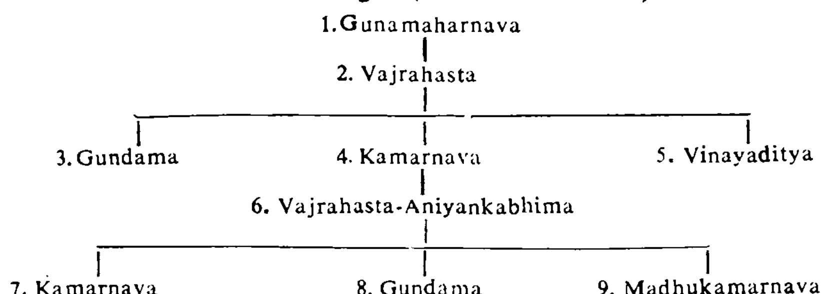
These considerations have led Mr. Rao to conclude that the Gangas of both the territories belonged to different dynasties, but

Dr. D, C. Sircar thinks that they probably belonged to one and the same dynasty. These early Gangas ruled in modern Srikakulam and Vizagapattam districts, sometimes extending their power to Ganjam in which region the Gangas of Svetaka were ruling, probably as the feudatories of the Gangas of Kalinganagara. After Devendravarman IV who issued a copper plate in the Ganga year 397 (A.D. 895) no history of the Eastern Ganges is available for about a century and the earliest history of the Greater Gangas began from the close of the tenth century. Dr. D. C. Sircar however thinks that there is some evidence to show that during this period the Gangas were divided into five small principalities, of which the Ganga house of Svetaka was one. During this period the Eastern Chalukyas sometimes encroached upon the Ganga territories.

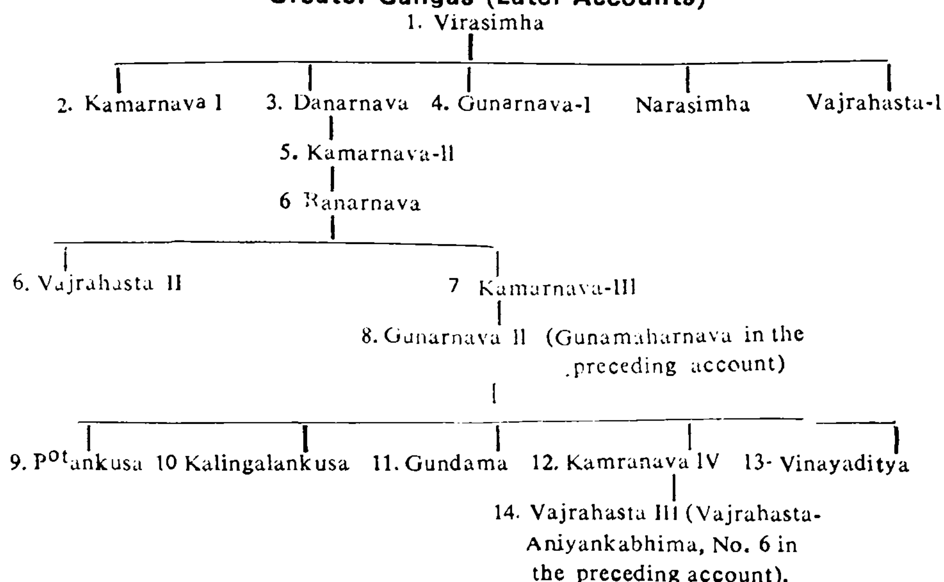
The Greater Gangas

The genealogies of the Gangas as given in the earlier and later accounts and as adopted in *Age of Imperial Kanuj* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan) are given below :

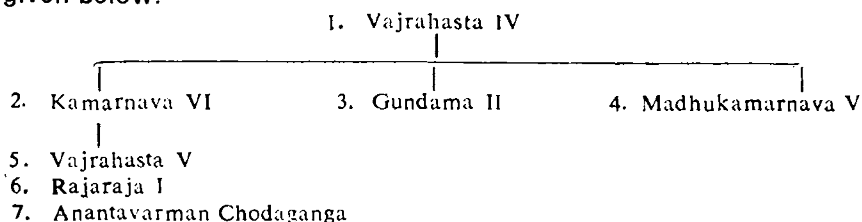
Greater Gangas (Earlier Accounts)



Greater Gangas (Later Accounts)



From Vajrahasta IV the still later genealogy of the Greater Gangas is given below.



The earlier Gangas had not much connection with Orissa proper and their rule was mainly confined to the Andhra region. Chodaganga was the real founder of the Ganga rule in Orissa. From Anantavarman Vajrahasta the genealogy of the Greater Gangas, sometimes called the Imperial Gangas, has been given by Mr. R. Subbarao as follows :

Anantavarma Vajrahasta V A. D. 1038-1069

Devendravarma Raja Raja I. A. D. 1069-1076

1. Anantavarma Chodaganga A D. 1076-1147

Ulayaganda Permadideva

Peddajiyyanayani Chodaganga II *alias* Rajendrachodadeva

2. Kamarnava VII 1147-1156
3. Raghava 1156-1170
4. Raja Raja II 1170-1190
5. Aniyanka Bhima 1190-1198
6. Raja Raja III. 1198-1211
7. Anangabhima. 1211-1238
8. Narasimhadeva I. 1238-1264
9. Bhanudeva I. 1264-1279
10. Narsimhadeva II. 1279-1306
11. Bhanudeva II. 1306-1328
12. Narasimhadeva III. 1328-1352
13. Bhanudeva III. 1352-1378
14. Narasimhadeva IV. 1378-1414
15. Bhanudeva IV. 1414-1434

From the reign of Chodaganga the Gangas ruled in Orissa for fifteen generations covering a total period of 325 years. They transferred their capital from Mukhalingam to Kataka (Cuttack) which they called Varanasi Kataka and settled down here permanently. Mr. Subbarao

observes that the Gangas of Orissa became Oriyas for all practical purposes. They imbibed Oriya customs and adopted the Oriya language. They also became the patrons of the Orissan literature. Even after the extinction of the dynasty as rulers in A. D., 1435 the remanents of the Ganga ruling family became the strong upholders of Orissa's interests. Even in modern times the scions of the Ganga ruling family became the front fighters for the cause of the Oriyas. Maharaja Gajapati Krishna-chandra Narayanadeva of Paralakhemundi, where a branch of the Imperial Gangas of Orissa still exists, fought for the amalgamation of the Oriya-speaking tracts for the formation of the Orissa province and it is largely due to his efforts that the Oriyas got a separate province. As observed earlier, the history of these Greater Gangas of Orissa starts from Chodaganga.

Chodaganga (A. D. 1078-1150)

The forefathers of Anantavarma Chodaganga, belonging to the Eastern Gangadynasty, ruled a kingdom roughly comprising the tract between the present Ganjam district and the river Godavari. Taking advantage of the weakness of the Somavamsis, then ruling in Orissa, Devendravarma Raja Raja I, the father of Chodaganga, had grabbed a portion of southern Orissa, but it was the latter who completed the conquest of the whole of Orissa and founded in it the Eastern Ganga dynasty which ruled in an unbroken line of succession till it was over-thrown by Kapilendradeva in A.D. 1435. Chodaganga is therefore regarded as the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa.

After the death of his father he was crowned in A.D. 1076 but actually ruled from A. D. 1078 and continued to do so till A.D. 1150. In the initial years of his reign his kingdom was attacked by the Cholas of the south and for a while Chodaganga lost to them a part of his kingdom comprising the Visakhapatnam district, but he did not lose heart and gradually recovered his lost territories.

Chodaganga, like his father, cherished the ambition of conquering the whole of Orissa and the weakness of the Somavamsi dynasty, then ruling in Orissa, favoured the fulfilment of his ambition. The last three kings of the Somavamsi dynasty, as has been shown earlier, were weak and they had lost the western part of their kingdom comprising the Sambalpur-Sonepur tract. Orissa under them meant only the coastal districts extending from Balasore in the north to Ganjam in the south This small and mutilated kingdom lay between the powerful kingdoms of

the Palas in the north and the Gangas in the south. The Palas had become powerful under Ramapala who was trying to revive the lost prestige of the Pala empire and the Gangas under Chodaganga had also become powerful and were trying to extend their northern frontier at the expense of the Somavamsi kingdom of Orissa. It was therefore a question of time that Orissa would be annexed by one of these two neighbouring powers.

The struggle that ensued between Ramapala and Chodaganga for the occupation of Orissa, ended in the victory of the latter, but in the early stages of the struggle it was Ramapala who had the upper hand. We know from the contemporary records that Ramapala's general Jayasimha ousted from the throne Karnakesari who can be no other than Karnadeva, the last Somavamsi king known from his Ratnagiri copper plate grant. Chodaganga however soon reversed the position In his Korni copper plate grant issued in A.D. 1113 it is stated that he reinstated the fallen lord of Orissa. It is therefore clear that Ramapala had driven out Karnadeva from his throne, but Chodaganga helped him to regain it. Chodaganga was not however helping Karna out of benevolent motives. He was merely seeking an opportunity to annex the entire Somavamsi kingdom. That opportunity seems to have come when, according to the tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji*, Vasudeva, the commander-in-chief of the last Somavamsi king, invited Chodaganga to occupy Orissa. The last Somavamsi king Karnadeva seems to have been very weak and unpopular and therefore Chodaganga did not get much opposition while occupying his kingdom. The exact date of the occupation of Orissa by Chodaganga cannot be ascertained, but it appears to have taken place about A.D. 1110.

Having become the master of Orissa Chodaganga next turned his attention towards further conquests in the north. After the death of Ramapala his successors in Bengal became weak. Chodaganga took advantage of this weak position in Bengal to push his northern frontiers to the river Ganges. He defeated the Chief of Mandara and occupied his capital Aramya, now known as Arambagh situated in the Hooghly district and pursued him up to the bank of the Ganga. In his campaign in southern Bengal Chodaganga seems to have been assisted by Vijayasena, the Sena king of Radha (south west Bengal), who was hostile to the Palas. By his victories in Bengal the Ganga king now became the master of the whole stretch of land from the river Ganges in the north to the river Godavari in the south and came to be recognized as the most powerful king of the south-estern India.

Although Chodaganga occupied the entire coastal strip of Orissa, many of the territories formerly included in the Somavamsi kingdom, still remained outside his state. He therefore attempted to occupy them. The western frontier of Orissa comprising the Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract, was in the Somavamsi kingdom, but by the time Chodaganga conquered Orissa, this tract had been occupied by the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. So he waged a war against the Kalachuri king Ratnadeva II, (A.D. 1120-1135) but he seems to have been defeated in it. The Sambalpur-Sonepur region continued to be in the occupation of the Kalachuris till the reign of Chodaganga's great-grandson Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1216-1235) when it was again included in Orissa.

Chodaganga's ancestral capital was at Kalinganagara identified with Mukhalingam situated in the Srikakulam district of Andhra, but after his occupation of Orissa he transferred his capital to Cuttack which was more centrally situated in his vast kingdom. Here the Gangas ruled for fourteen generations and gradually became Oriyas and lost their former identity. Chodaganga also built a number of strong forts in Orissa, of which Jajpur, Amaravati (near Chhatia), Choudwar, Cuttack, and Sarangagarh (near Baranga) became most famous.

Like his forefathers Chodaganga was Saiva in his earlier life, but after his occupation of Orissa he became a devotee of Jagannatha and built for him a magnificent temple which stands at Puri till now. The *Madalapanji* records a tradition that Anangabhimadeva (III), great-grandson of Chodaganga, built the present temple of Jagannatha but the Ganga copper plate grants definitely state that it is Chodaganga who erected this famous monument. From the time of Chodaganga the shrine of Jagannatha gained in importance and assumed an all-India character which it never lost afterwards. Orissan culture thus owes a deep debt to this famous king.

He had many sons of whom four ruled after him successively. He had also many wives of whom Kasturikamodini, Indira and Chandralekha became the mothers of Raghave, Madhu Kamarnnava, Rajaraja and Aniyanka Bhima, who ruled after him.

Chodaganga has been considered to be the most powerful king of his time in eastern India. He had an indomitable courage which never failed him even in the reverses of his earlier life. Ruling for long 72 years he founded the strong Ganga kingdom in Orissa which was destined to survive for 325 years. By erecting the Jagannatha temple and by increasing the importance of this famous shrine he also earned immortal fame in Orissan history.

Anantavarma Chodaganga had several names such as Chalukya Ganga, Vikrama Gangesvara, Vira Rajendra Chodaganga and Gangesvra Deva-bhupa, which are found form inscriptions. He had also several wives of whom the names of the three queens, who became the mothers of his sons succeeding to the throne, have been mentioned above. The name of one of his brother was Pramadideva who had the title *Raja* and who was probably a ruler of a province. Pramadi's son was Chodaganga who adopted the name of his uncle. Raja Pramadideva donated a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Kedaresvara at Bhubaneswar and caused an inscription to be engraved, which still exists there. The inscription is dated Saka 1064 corresponding to A.D 1142. Chodaganga himself donated a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Kirttivasa (Lingaraja) at Bhubaneswar in the Saka year 1036, corresponding to A.D. 1114. and caused an inscription to be engraved on the wall of the *Jagamohana* of the shrine. This inscription supplies us with the evidence that he must have conquered Orissa before A.D. 1114. Chodaganga's further connection with Orissa is attested to by a small lake near Dhauli hill which bears the name of Kausalya Ganga, the excavation of which is attributed by the *Madala-panji* to Gangesvaradeva who can be no other than Chodagangadeva. A village near Dhauli is also known as Gangesvarapura. About twelve miles to the north of Bhubaneswar and near the Barang Railway Station, are to be found the ruins of a vast ancient fort, known as Sarangagada, with the remains of its outer and inner walls, now hidden up in the dense jungle. In 1822 when Stirling wrote his *An Account of Orissa* tradition ascribed the building of this fort and also of one at Kataka-Choudwar. to Chodaganga, a name which has survived as Saranga or Chudanga with the fort near Barang. Another fort known as Kasiagarh, about six miles in perimeter, with walls of sandstone about ten feet thick, and with gates and bastions, still exists in ruined condition in the dense jungle near the village Dalua on the road from Chandaka to Khurda, about fifteen miles from Bhubaneswar. Except some walls, the interior of the fort reveals no signs of occupation, the mounds, the ruins of any sort and potsherds are conspicuous by their absence. It seems that the fort was meant for the temporary residence of the soldiers when they were required to remain concealed in the dense jungle. The local tradition attributes its building to Chudangaraja. Besides, a Sati memorial column inside the fort is still worshipped by the villagers as Chudanga Dariani i.e., the concubine of Chudanga. These evidences indicate that this fort was also built by Chodagangadeva. It seems that his long reign lasting for seventy-two years witnessed the building of a series of forts at strategic points and in dense jungles,

which accounted for his military successes and the extension of his territories from the Godavari in the south to the river Ganga near Hooghly in the north. His inscriptions are also found in other parts of Orissa. In the Andhra region the inscriptions which refer to him, are numerous, and they are particularly so at Draksharama in the East Godavari district and on the Simhachalam temple. His name seems to have been also associated with a part of the Puri town which is still known as Chudanga Sahi.

The chronology of the Gangas as given by Mr. R. Subbarao shown above, has been modified by the later scholars. The reasons for the modification have been stated in a foot note given on page 224 of *The Struggle for Empire* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan), which we quote below :

"The extreme known dates of the kings mentioned in this para have been given in the parenthesis. No attempt has been made to determine the years of their accession with the help of stone inscriptions bearing original years along with dates in Saka year, as there is no agreement between them. Sometimes regnal years given in the stone inscriptions exceed the reign-periods mentioned in the copper plates. In order to meet these difficuities M. M. Chakravarti suggests that regnal years given are as a matter of fact *anka* years which will have to be calculated by a particular method in order to get the actual figures (Cf. *JASB.* LXXII, 100 ; G. Ramdas, *JBORS.* XVIII. 285; Subbarao, *JAHRS* VI. 208). But the application of this system also does not lead to the correct solution of the problem."

1. Kamarnava VII (A D. 1147-1156)

Kamarnava who suceeded his father Chodaganga, was probably his eldest son by his wife Kasturikamodini. It seems that on account of the extreme old age of his father he was associated with his administration towards the end of his life or had become the joint ruler of the State. His name also appears as Jatesvara in some inscriptions and he figures in the Kalachuri records under the same name. He is also otherwise known as Madhukamarnava He continued the fight against the Kalachuris of Ratnapura which had been begun by his father, but in this fight he, like his father, was unsuccessful. The fight, as we have observed earlier, was for the possession of the Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract of western Orissa, which was once a part of the Somavamsi kingdom and which the Gangas claimed as the successors of the Somavamsis. This tract continued

to be in the possession of the Kalachuris and, as will be shown below, it was wrested from them by Anangabhimadeva III. This king is known from several stone inscriptions still to be found in the Andhra region upto the river Godavari He performed the *Tulabharam* ceremony by which he weighed himself against gold and this gold was distributed among his courtiers and the Brahmins.

2. Raghava (A. D. 1156-1170)

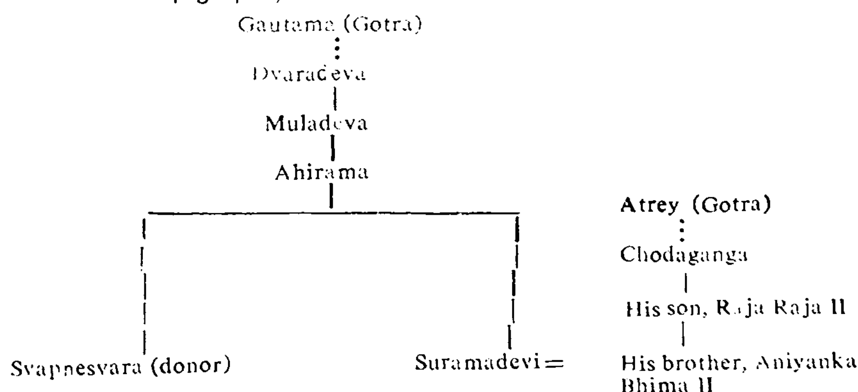
We learn from the Kendupatna Plates that Chodaganga had by his queen Indira a son named Raghava who succeded his brother Kamarnava. Some inscriptions bestow vague praises upon him, but his reign appears to have been mostly uneventful. He died childless and was succeeded by the two sons of Chandralekha, another queen of Chodaganga, and they ruled after him as Raja Raja II and Aniyanka or Anangabhimadeva II.

3. Raja Raja II (A. D. 1170-1190)

In *The Struggle for Empire* this king has been assigned a reign from A.D. 1171-1192. Like his father and his brothers his name has also found mention in a number of stone inscriptions mostly found in the Andhra region, but they do not provide us with any substantial information about his achievements.

4. Aniyanka-Bhima or Anangabhima II
(A. D. 1190-1198)

The Meghesvara Inscription originally attached to the Meghesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, throws welcome light on the reign of this king It is stated in this inscription that Svapnesvaradeva built the Meghesvara temple and excavated several tanks and granted villages to the Brahmins. The relation of Svapnesvara with Raja Raja II and Anaiyanka Bhima II has been given in the following genealogy to be found in this epigraph ;



Svapnesvara was thus the brother-in-law of Raja Raja II and Aniyanka Bhima II and served as the commander of the Ganga army under both the brothers The date of the construction of the Meghesvara temple cannot be determined accurately, but it was certainly constructed towards the close of the twelfth century A. D.

5. Raja·Raja III (A.D. 1198-1211)

The copper plate grants of the successors of this king represent him as the son of Aniyanka Bhima Deva by his chief queen Bughalla Devi. His successors have bestowed high praises on him, but have recorded no definite achievement to his credit. He figures in some stone inscriptions engraved on the temple of Srikurmanatha. The chief interest of his reign lies in the fact that from his time the Muslims started their attack on Orissa. From the *Tabaqat-i-Na iri* we learn that in A.D. 1205 Bakhtyar Khiliji sent two Khiliji brothers named Muhammad Sheran and Ahmad Sheran for the conquest of Lakhnor (in Bengal) and Jajnagar (Orissa), but on account of the premature death of Bakhtyar Khiliji in his campaign against Kamarupa (Assam) and Tibet in A.D. 1205, the Khiliji brothers returned to Devkot without conquering Orissa. The first attempt of the Muslims to conquer Orissa thus became unsuccessful. The struggle between the Gangas and the Muslim Governors of Bengal however continued in the reigns of his successors.

6. Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238)

The two major events of the reign of this Ganga king are his conquest of the Sambalpur-Sonepur-Bolangir tract from the Kalachuris of Ratnapura and his struggle against the Muslims of Bengal. As observed earlier, the western part of modern Orissa was in the occupation of the Kalachuris and Chodaganga and his son Kamarnava had failed to wrest it from them. An ambitious king like Chodaganga who conquered the entire south-eastern coastal territory from the river Godavari in the south to the river Hooghly in the north, would not have failed to recognise the utility of acquiring the Sonepur area which formed the western frontier of his state, and which had for long remained a part of Orissa during the supremacy of the Bhaumas and the Somavamsis. Chodaganga as a successor of the Somavamsis in Orissa by conquest, would have also found a sort of legal pretext to try to recover this convenient western frontier from the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. The Kalachuri inscriptions supply definite information about a course of struggle that inevitably followed between the Gangas of Orissa and the Kalachuris of Ratnapura in the early part of the Ganga rule in Orissa.

It is claimed in the Kalachuri epigraphic records that Ratnadeva II and Prithvideva II respectively defeated Chodagangadeva and his son and successor Jatesvara *alias* Madhu Kamarnava. One of these records definitely states that the fight between the Ganga and the Kalachuri armies took place at Seorinarayan, a wellknown place of pilgrimage on the left bank of the Mahanadi, thirty-eight miles south-east of Bilaspur in the Janjgir *Tahsil* of the Bilaspur district of Madhyapradesh. The position of the battle field gives us an idea that the fight was for the possession of the Sonepur tract, or else the hostility between the Gangas of Orissa and the Kalachuris of Ratnapura at this stage cannot otherwise be explained It cannot be supposed that the Ganga army was on the move in the Bilaspur region with a view to conquer the Kalachuri kingdom of Ratnapura. Such a supposition will overlook the position of the Ganga state, its extent, the difficulties of communication and the general strategy which the Gangas followed for the expansion of their empire. The conclusion therefore becomes inevitable that the struggle that ensued between the first two Ganga kings of Orissa and the Kalachuri kings of Ratnapura, was for the possession of the Sonepur region, but this struggle ended in the victory of the Kalachuris. It is evident from the Kalachuri inscriptions that the Gangas were defeated and consequently failed to occupy the Sonepur tract. In the Ganga epigraphic records there is no mention of their fight with the Kalachuris, a fact which indicates that they were defeated. Had they been successful in their fight with the Kalachuris, such a fact would not have failed to find mention in their epigraphic records which usually contain references to their victories and conquests.

When was then Sonepur occupied by the Gangas ? Both the epigraphic evidence and the tradition combine to prove that Sonepur was occupied by the Gangas during the reign of Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-38), who is known to have been a valiant fighter and to have successfully defended his state against the Muslim inroads from the north. In the Chatesvara Temple Inscription it is stated that Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva III, frightened the king of Tummana so much so that the latter perceived him (Vishnu) everywhere in his kingdom. Bereft of the poetical effusions the statement simply means that Vishnu, the minister of Anangabhimadeva, managed to lead an army into the territory of the king of Tummana which was the name of the old capital of the Kalachuris (otherwise known as Chaidyas and Haihayas) of Ratnapura. This Ganga expedition must have been intended for the possession of the Sonepur tract, because, as already explained above, it cannot otherwise be imagined that the expedition was intended

for the conquest of the Kalachuri kingdom. Anangabhimadeva III was a contemporary of Pratapamalla who was a weak ruler and whose reign marked the decline of the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. It appears that Anangabhima took advantage of the internal weakness of the Kalachuris to revive the old claim of his predecessors for the possession of the Sonepur territory and in this attempt, unlike his predecessors, he ultimately succeeded. The Kalachuri records make no mention of their fight with the Gangas in the reign of Pratapamalladeva, a fact which indicates that they were defeated and forced to relinquish their possession of Sonepur.

The annexation of the Sonepur tract by Anangabhima is also supported by the local tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Jagannatha at Puri. In a long proclamation purported to have been issued by Anangbhimadeva for earmarking the total income of his state for different purposes, it is stated that the king had increased the income of the state by increasing the territories upto Sunupura (Sonepur) in the west. Anangabhimadeva of this passage is to be identified with Anangabhimadeva III, because of the fact that he has been described in it as the sixth king of the Ganga dynasty. In the genealogy given in the copper plate grants he also appears as the sixth king of the dynasty.

There is yet another fact which indicates that Sonepur was conquered during the reign of Anangabhimadeva III. In the Commemorative Inscription originally attached to the temple of Ananta Vasudeva, situated on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara at Bhubaneswar, it is stated that Chandrikadevi daughter of Anangabhimadeva III, had been married to Paramardideva, the ornament of the Haihaya family, but Paramardi after having successfully fought with the enemies of Narasimhadeva I, son and successor of Anangabhimadeva III, ultimately went to heaven and that after his death the widowed lady Chandrika built the temple of Ananta Vasudeva in A.D. 1278. It seems that Paramardideva fell fighting on the battle field in the long-drawn war between the Muslim governors of Bengal and the Ganga kings of Orissa. In the *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* it is stated that in the fight that took place between Narasimhadeva I and Yuzbak, the Muslim Governor of Bengal, the Orissan army was commanded by Sabentar (Samanta Ray) who was the son-in-law of the king of Orissa and who inflicted a defeat on Yuzbak and that the latter lost a white elephant. The Muslim chronicle has not made it clear whether the Samant Ray who commanded the Orissan army, was the son-in-law of Narasimhadeva I or of his father Anangabhimadeva III. But from the evidence furnished by the Commemorative Inscrip-

tion of the Ananta Vasudeva temple quoted above, it becomes clear that he was the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva III and the husband of Chandrikadevi. It is thus evident that after the death of Anangabhima, Paramardi continued to serve his son as the commander of the Ganga army bearing the designation Samanta Ray, and appears to have lost his life on the battle field.

Since Paramardideva has pointely been described as a member of the Haihaya or Kalachuri dynasty, it is permissible to infer that he was in some way connected with the war that took place between the Kalachuris (otherwise known as the Haihayas) of Ratnapura and the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III. It is most probable that after the war an amicable settlement was made between the warring parties and the Kalachuri king agreed to cede Sonepur to Anangabhimadeva III who in his turn gave his daughter in marriage to Paramardideva, a member of the Kalachuri ruling family, and appointed him as the commander of his army. Or, it may be that Paramardi was won over by Anangabhima and made an instrument in his attempt to annex the Sonepur region. We have no clear evidence to warrant a definite conclusion in this connection, but from what has been discussed above, it will be abundantly clear that Sonepur was added to the Ganga empire in the reign of Anangabhimadava III.

We have stated above that the first attempt of the Muslims to conquer Orissa became unsuccessful on account of the death of Bakhtyar Khiliji. The next Governor of Bengal, Ghiyas-ud-din 'Iwaz' renewed his attempt to conquer Orissa in the reign of this king, but was repulsed by the Orissan army. The *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri* states that the Muslim Governor of Bengal took tribute from the Orissan king, but this statement has been rejected by all scholars. Orissa remained unmolested by the Muslims during the reign of Anangabhimadeva, but in the reign of his successor Narasimahadeva I the hostilities were renewed.

We have observed earlier that Chandrika Devi, daughter of Anangabhimadeva III, built the temple of Ananta Vasudeva at Bhubaneswar in A. D. 1278. In the Commemorative Inscription of this temple she has been represented as well versed in music and dance and as a devotee of Vishnu from her childhood. The date of the temple indicates that she built it in her old age when her father and her brother Narasimhadeva I had ended their reigns and her husband Paramardideva had lost his life in the fight between the Gangas and the Muslims of Bengal. The temple still stands on the eastern bank of the Vindusarovara at Bhubaneswar and furnishes an excellent exmple of the Ganga art and architecture.

Anangabhima invaded the eastern Chalukya kingdom of Vengi and obtained some successes. But he seems to have been defeated by the Kakatiya king Ganapati of Warrangal and forced to cede to him the territory which is now known as the East Godavari district.

The *Madalapanji* represents this Ganga king as the great devotee of Jagannatha, who recognised this great deity as the king of Orissa and regarded himself as his deputy. We have no other evidence to show that the Ganga kings formally surrendered their kingdom to Lord Jagannatha and they regarded themselves as his deputies. But this tradition cannot be brushed aside because of the fact that not only the Ganga kings, but also the Suryavamsi and Bhoi kings of Orissa actually considered themselves as the servants of Lord Jagannatha. This custom still exists and the Rajas of Puri, the traditional representatives of the Gajapatis of Orissa, still perform the duties of sweepers at the time of the Car Festival of this great deity. The *Madalapanji* also attributes the erection of the great temple of Jagannatha to this Ganga king, but scholars have not accepted the statement of the *Panji* because of the fact that in the Ganga epigraphic records Chodaganga has distinctly been stated as the builder of this great temples Anangabhima might have however built or completed some of the subsidiary structures of the Jagannatha temple, and therefore the *Madalapanji*, compiled long after the Ganga period, has mistakenly attributed the erection of the monument to Anangabhima.

7. Narasimhadeva I (A.D. 1238-1264.)

Narasimhadeva I, otherwise known as Langula Narasimha in Orissan traditions, was the son and successor of Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238.) By the time he ascended the throne the Muslims had conquered the north and south Bengal and had firmly established themselves there. With their base in Bengal the Muslims wanted to conquer Orissa and made several attempts during the reign of Anangabhima III to achieve their object, but the strong Orissan king was on his guard and repulsed all their attacks When Anangabhima died in about A.D. 1238 he left to his son the legacy of fighting with the Muslims. Since A.D. 1194 when the Muslims under Bakhtyar Khiliji had conquered a part of Bengal, a new political situation had arisen in the east and the south-east India. Orissa was the neighbouring State of Bengal and it was therefore a question of time that it too would be conquered by the Muslims.

Soon after his accession Narasimha I faced this new political situation and also realised its gravity. Two courses were left to him; either, like his father, to repulse the Muslim attacks on his northern frontier or to be engaged in an aggressive warfare against them. He chose the latter alternative and thought that aggresssion was the best means of defence. Few Hindu monarchs of Narasimha's time ever adopted his policy. He became determined to attack the Muslims of Bengal without waiting for their attack on him.

Towards the end of A.D. 1243 Narasimha appeared at the head of an army on the frontiers of the Muslim Bengal. Its ruler Tughril-Tughan Khan was no match for Narasimha either in ability or generalship. When the Muslim army wanted to fight with the Orissan army, it made a strategic retreat to the frontier fort Katasimha in Midnapore, which was surounded with jungles and cane-bushes that provided streategic defence to them. In A.D. 1244 Tughril-Tughan Khan appeared there at the head of an army, wanted to take the fort by storm and obtained some initial successes. But the Oriya soldiers hid themselves in jungles and cane-bushes and when the Muslim army was engaged in their mid-day meal, they fell upon it The Muslim soldiers were seized with panic and fled in hot haste, pursued by the Orissan troops. Tughril Khan saved his life by flight. Encouraged by this success Narasimha soon captured Lakhnor, the secondary capital of Muslim Bengal, and the districts of Howrah, Hooghly, Bankura and Birbhum became the part of his kingdom in consequence of his victories.

He next made a determined effort to capture Lakhnawati, the capital of Muslim Bengal, and in March 1245 appeared there at the head of an army and besieged it. Tughril Khan who had already sent messangers to the Sultan of Delhi, remained besieged in the fort. Fortunately for him the Sultan of Delhi ordered the governors of Kara-Manikpur and Awadh to come to his help. When Narasimha heard of the approach of the Muslim troops from the north, he raised the seige and withdrew to his newly gained posssessions of south-west Bengal.

Narasimha's campaigns in Bengal were boldly conceived and brilliantly carried out. For a while he became the master of a portion of south Bengal and his vast kingdom extended from the Ganga in the north and the Godavari in the south. In the meanwhile there was a change in the political situation in Muslim Bengal. Tughril Khan was considered to be inefficient because of his defeat at the hands of Narasimha and was

deposed. Yuzgak was appointed as the governor of Muslim Bengal, and he made in A.D. 1253 several attempts to drive out the Oriyas from Radha (south-west Bengal). His attempts were all foiled by the Orissan army under the command of Paramardideva Samanta Raya who, as has been shown earlier. was the son-in-law of Anangabhimadeva III. In the third battle Yuzbak was so badly defeated that he appealed to the Sultan of Delhi for help which appears to have been ultimately received by him and which changed the situation for him for the better. The Orissan army was in the end defeated and Paramardideva laid down his life in the battle field. The Muslim authority in Radha was re-established.

Though Narasimha ultimately lost his hold on south-west Bengal, the policy that he pursued bore abundant fruits. His strategy that aggre-ssion is the best means of defence was a far-sighted one and it kept Orissa independent for a long period. Narasimha lost his possessions in Bengal in A.D. 1253 and Orissa lost her independence to the Muslims in A.D. 1568. Therefore, despite the Muslim attempts to conquer Orissa, she remained a staunch Hindu kingdom for a period of three hundred and fifteen years even though she was surrounded by the neighbouring Muslim states. This long independence of Orissa was, to a great extent, the indirect result of Narasimha's far-sighted policy which no other Hindu monarch of his time pursued against the Muslims. Narasimha I stands as the most brilliant Hindu statesman and general of his age.

His achievements in the field of art and architecture were as brilliant as his achievements in the fields of politics and wars. He was the builder of the world famous sun temple of Konarka. The only part of this unique monument that has survived almost in tact now, is its *Jagamohana*. The tower of the main temple has fallen, but its basement still remains. The joint structures of the *Vimana* (the main temple) and *Jagamohana* (the porch) were conceived in the form of a *ratha* or car, and have therefore been based on an immense terrace with twenty-four gaint wheels, being, as it were, drawn by seven huge horses, the remains of which still exist on both side of the eastern doorway. The *Jagamohana* had three doors, but these have now been blocked and the interior filled with sand. The roof of the *Jagamohana* is pyramidal in form, opening out into three platforms containing life-size statues mostly with musical instruments. There was also a separate structure of *Natamandira* (dancing hall), of which only the basement has survived.

All these three structures were very nicely decorated. Few buildings can boast of such an unrestrained abundance of plastic decora-

tions as the sun temple at Konarka can. The decorations consist of innumerable patterns such as geomatrical designs, *Nagas* and *Nagis*, obscene sculptures, conventional foliage, human and divine figures etc. Even though the temple is in ruin and what has survived is only a fraction of its former grandeur, it still excites the wonder and admiration of all visitors.

The two huge war horses of stone that are still to be seen at Konarka with their dismounted riders, are most likely the war memorials which Narasimha created after his victories in Bengal. From an inscription on the Lingaraja temple it appears that he also defeated the great Kakatiya king Ganapati of the Andhra country. Thus he was victorious in his wars both in the north and south. His successes in wars and art and architecture were equally great and therefore his reign is considered to be the golden period of Orissan history.

We have briefly narrated above the fight between Narasimha I and the Muslim Governors of Bengal, but a graphic picture of the fight based on the Muslim sources has been given by Dr. K. R. Quanungo in *The History of Bengal, Muslim Period*, 1973, pp. 48-52, which is worth quoting here :

"Tughral Tughan slept over this dangerous aggression of Orissa on his immediate frontier till the emboldened enemy actually began ravaging his own possesions on the Lakhnor side in the dry season of 1243. Where were the army and the fleet of Tughral ? He could not take the field to repel the Hindu invasion till the month of Shawwal 641 A. H. (mid March, 1244 A.D.) when Minhaj-i-Siraj, the historian, also joined in "this holy war." The army of Tughral Tughan marched along the broad highway of 'Iwaz as far as Lakhnor, and pushed further south-east after having crossed the rivers Ajaya and Damodar. The army of Orissa retreated without fighting to their frontier fortress of Katasin, in a region full of jungle and cane-bushes suited for ambush and surprise. Tughan's objective was perhaps some fort north of Vishnupur in the Bankura district.

On Saturday morning 6th of Ziqadah 641 (16th April, 1244) the Turks delivered an assault on the fort of Katasin, carried two ditches after hard fighting and put the Hindus to flight who left some elephants behind. As it was the time of mid-day meal, Tughral Tughan recalled his troops from the assault and ordered that nobody should vex the elephants which were evidently left in their place on the other side of the second ditch. The soldiers of the army of Islam were busy in preparing

or eating their meals. A party of Orissa soldiers made a sortie from the direction of the fort to take away the elephants they had left behind in the morning; and simultaneously a small detachment of two hundred footmen and fifty *sawars* stole their way from behind a cane-jungle and rushed upon the rear of the Muslim army. The panic spread to the whole army of Tughral Tughan Khan. At any rate the army of Orissa kept up a hot pursuit, and the Turks did not make a stand even in their own fort of Lakhnor, 70 miles northwest of Katasin. It will be idle to suppose that the Muslim army was helpless before a handful of enemies or that the Turk had forgotten his trade. Tughral Tughan Khan was no doubt out-generalled by the king of Orissa who had drawn the enemy far away from their frontier and must have concealed more than one surprising party along the whole route of the enemy's advance. A greater disaster had not till then befallen the Muslims in any part of Hindustan. "The Muslims," says Minhaj 'sustained an overthrow, and a great number of those holy warriors attained martyrdom."

"The situation was critical at Lakhnawati. Tughan Khan after his return from Katasin sent Sharf-ul-Mulk al-Ashari and Quazi Jalaluddin Kashani to the Imperial Court to implore military assistance. The mission was successful; Sultan Alauddin Mas'ud Shah issued orders to Malik Qara-Qash Khan, governor of Kara-Manikpur, and also to Malik Tamar Khan of Oudh to unite their forces and march at once "for exterminating the infidels of Jajnagar." Meanwhile the Ray of Jajnagar followed up his success by capturing Lakhnor and putting to sword Fakhr-ul Mulk Karimuddin Langhri, the fief-holder of Lakhnor, along with a large number of Muslims. The rule of the Turks was terminated in Radh, and Varendra was invaded next year. On Tuesday, the 13th Shwwal 642 A.H. (14th March, 1244) the army of Orissa consisting of a large number of *paiks* (infantry) and elephants actually arrived before the Muslim capital, and drove Tughral Tughan to seek shelter within the gates of Lakhnawti. The very next day messengers are said to have brought news to Lakhnawati that the army of Hindustan was near at hand;—perhaps a trick to hearten the people of the city. However, the army of Hindustan was really on its march through Bihar along the southern bank of the Ganges, and within a few days reached "the Hill of Lakhnawati' i.e. the Rajmahal hills; and the Hindu army thus thereatened on the flank withdrew from the neighbourhood of Lakhnawati. Instead of combining to retrieve the prestige of Muslim arms and exterminate the Hindus, the Muslims now fell out; Tughral Tughan Khan wished the army

of Hindustan under Malik Tamar Khan of Oudh to march back as the Hindus had already retreated; but he shared the unhappy fate of a prince who calls to his aid a more powerful ally. MaliK Tamar Khan-i-Qiran, bent on depriving Tughan Khan of Bengal laid seige to Lakhnawati and daily skirmishes continued between the hostile forces. One morning the two Khans fought till mid-day, after which both the armies retired for their meals Most of the soldiers of Tughan Khan had gone into the city and a few troopers who were left with him in the camp outside the city-gate had also alighted from their horses. Malik Tamar Khan stood ready for battle in his camp and was waiting for news from the spies whom he had set upon the movements of Tughral Tughan. He at once made a dash for camp of Tughan Khan, who absolutely unprepared for such an emergency, saved himself by fight within the city, on Tuesday the 5th of Zilhijjah, 642 (4th May 1245 a Thursday)."

"Malik Ikhtyaruddin Yuzbak, governor of Oudh, succeded Mas'ud Jani in 650 A.H. The new governor was a habitutal rebel, having already risen twice against Sultan Nasiruddin, and been each time pardoned and promoted through the favour of Ulugh Khan Balban "Rashness and imperiousness" says Minhaj-i- Siraj, "were implanted in his nature and constitution" but he was a man of undobuted ability as a soldier and proved a successful ruler too. After having consolidated his authority in Varendra he led an expedition the Radha in 651 A.H. (c. November-December, 1253) to retrieve the prestige of the Turkish arms. It proved a hard job, as a vigorous chief of Orissa, a son-in-law and feudatory (*Savantar*, Oriya *Santra*) of Raja Narasimhadeva I, had consolidated a powerful vassal kingdom with his capital at Madaran (*Umardan* of Minhaj) in the north-eastern corner of the modern Hooghly district, a few miles west of Chinsurah. During this campaign three battles were fought and in the last of them Malik Ikhtyaruddin Yuzbak suffered a defeat with heavy loss, though he "showed in comparison with Tughral Tughan greater courage and grit". He implored assistance from the Imperial Court which was itself helpless on account of the temporary eclipse of the power of Ulugh Khan Balban and the ascendancy of the faction of 'Imaduddin Rayani and Masud Jani, the latter having married scandalously Sultan Nasiruddin's own mother, Malka-i-Jhan. However, Malik 'Ikhtyaruddin Yuzbak reorganised his own army and two years later (653 A.H/c. November, December 1255) again invadad Radha. Grown wiser by his previous experience he avoided frontal attacks which gave an advantage to the army of Orissa with its

numerous elephants. According to the notions of the age, an elephant was considered worth "five hundred horsemen" even by a military expert like Balban; because, unlike the ancient Romans who fought Pyrrhus, the Turks had not yet discovered the weak points of this mighty animal. With his superior cavalry Malik Ikhtyaruddin dealt swift and decisive blows by resorting to the nomad tactics of stratagem and surprise against the slow-moving Hindu infantry and won conspicuous success. By a well-planned attack he captured Madaran, the capital of Savantar, and everything within the city except the person of the Orissa chief fell into his hands. He next turned his arms to reducing the whole country of Radha, which was almost completed with the second conquest of Nadia. Malik Ikhtyaruddin Yuzbak now rebelled a third time against the Sultan of Delhi and commemorated his new conquests by a special issue of a beautiful silver coin from the Lakhnawati mint in the month of Ramzan 653 A.H. He was the first Shamsi Mamluk who openly assumed the title of Sultan, *Sultan Mughis al-duniya waal-din Abul Muzaffar Yuzbak al-Sultan.*"

It was due to their frontier policy that Anangabhima and his son Narasimhadeva I fought against the Kalachuris, the Muslims of Bengal and the Kakatiyas. We have said earlier that it was due to an old claim of the Gangas to the Sonepur region, which was their western frontier, that Anangabhima III successfully fought against the Kalachuris of Ratnapura. His clash with the Kakatiya king Ganapati resulted from his frontier policy in which he seems to have been unsuccessful. As a result of this clash a portion of his kingdom, now known as the East Godavari district, passed into the Kakatiya possession. This lost portion seems to have been retrieved by his able son Narasimha I who, in all likelihood, wrested that district from Ganapati. In an inscription engraved on the temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar (*Indian Culture*, Vol. III, pp. 221-226; *Orissa Historical* Research *Journal*, Vol. I, No. 4, 1953, pp. 303; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, 1954, pp. 81-83), Narasimha I is stated to have frightened Ganapati with his sword, and this Ganapati has been identifed with the Kakatiya king of the same name. It seems that the conflict between the two monarchs was due to a border dispute and in this dispute Narasimha seems to have been victorious. The East Godavari district which originally formed a part of the Ganga kingdom, was wrested by the Ganga king from his formidable rival Ganapati and the river Godavari again became the southern boundary of the Ganga kingdom and continued to remain so till the end of the dynasty. Narasimha's fight with the Muslims of Bengal was also largely due to his forntier policy in the north. Chodaganga had conquered a part of the

south-west Bengal upto the river Hooghly and had created a secondary capital at Aramya(Arambag) in the present Hooghly district, where he must have placed a Governor and a strong army. In subsequent times, the date of which cannot be accurately determined, this northern frontier was lost by the Gangas and it was wrested from them by the Senas, probably by Vijayasena, who was the erstwhile friend of Chodaganga at the time of his conquest of this portion of Bengal. Subsequently the Muslims took possession of that portion of Bengal which was once under the Gangas and it remained in their possession upto the reign of Narasimha who found in it a legal pretext to invade Radha (south-west Bengal). His fight with the Muslims was therefore partly due to his attempt to recover the lost northern frontier and partly due to stem the tide of the Muslim aggression against Orissa. Narasimha did not succeed in keeping the reconquered territory of south-west Bengal, but his operations there resulted in keeping the Muslims at arm's length.

When the Slave dynasty was ruling at Delhi, Raja Raja III, Anangabhima III and Narasimha I were ruling in Orissa. Bengal was formally under the Slave Sultans, where they appointed their Governors, but since Bengal was far away from Delhi, the Governors appointed very often rebelled against the Sultans and sometimes declared their independence. At Delhi there were succession disputes afrer the death of each monarch and after Balban, the Slave dynasty did not produce any strong ruler. These circumstances explain why the Muslims of Bengal did not renew their attack on Orissa. Nature has provided Orissa with protection in shape of hills, jungles and rivers, which were considered difficult, if not insurmountable, barriers in the movement of fighting forces. Besides, the Gangas had created a vast fighting force, which not only kept their kingdom safe, but also challenged the external enemies. These factors provided Orissa with comparative freedom from the Muslim danger, or else the Muslims did not respect the independence of Orissa out of benevolent motives.

Narasimhadeva I's victories have sometimes been mentioned in poetic language in the copper plate grants of his successors. One of the copper plate records of Narasimhadeva II refers to the victories of Narasimha in the following poetical language :

"The (white) river Ganga blackened for a great distance by the collyrium washed away by tears from the eyes of the weeping *Yavanis*

(Muslim women) of Radha and Varendra and rendered waveless, as if by this astonishing achievement, and was now transformed by that monarch (i. e. Narasimha I) into the (blackwatered) Yamuna."

Vidyadhara who composed his *Ekavali* in the reign of Narasimha I refers to the Muslim of Bengal as Hammira, Yavana and Saka and represents his patron Narasimha as *Yavanavani Vallabhava* or the Lord of the Yavana kingdom, and tells us that his patron defeated the Hammiras (Amirs) of Bengal in *Vanga sangara* (the Bengal war). The *Madalapanji* does not refer to the glorious victories of the Ganga king in Bengal, a fact clearly indicates that at the time of its compilation the glorious deeds of Narasimha I had been completely forgotten in Orissa. In their anxiety to push back the beginning of the Oriya literature to remote antiquity, some scholars in Orissa want us to believe that this chronicle was started to be written from the reign of Chodagangadeva, but they do not tell us how the most glorious achievement of this Ganga king have not found mention in the *Madalapanji*. We have shown in Appendix IV that the *Madalapanji* is a very late work and it was compiled not earlier than the last part of the sixteenth century.

8. Bhanudeva I (A.D. 1264—1279)

The reign of this king has appeared to historians as uneventful not because that many events did not take place during his time, but because of the fact that, like his father, he did not fight with the external enemies from whose sources we generally collect information about the achievements of the Ganga kings. Bhanudeva I, otherwise known as Vira Bhanudeva I, was the son of Narasimhadeva I by his queen Sita Devi, who appears in the inscriptions as the daughter of Malachandra, king of Malwa. The chief events of his reign known from inscriptions, centre round the long stay in Orissa of Narahari Tirtha who was the disciple of Ananda Tirtha, the famous founder of the *Dvaita* Philosophy We know the history of his long stay and work in Orissa during the reigns of Narasimhadeva I, Bhanudeva I and Narasimhadeva II from the *Madhava Vijaya Kavya* of Narayan a Pandit and the *Narahari Stotram* and also from many inscriptions still to be found on the temples of Srikurmanatha and Simhachalam. From these sources it becomes evident that Narahari Tirtha lived in Orissa from A.D. 1264 to A.D. 1293 and not only preached the Vaishnavaism of the Madhava sect, but also became the Governor of a province in the Ganga kingdom and the regent of Narasimhadeva II during his minority.

It is stated in the aforesaid literary works that Ananda Tirtha who was also known as Madhavacharya, instructed his disciple Narahari

Tirtha to proceed to the kingdom of the Ganga king and to obtain from him the images of Rama and Sita. Narahari lived in the Ganga kingdom for long and worked in the different capacities as mentioned above, and ultimately obtained as his reward the required images of Rama and Sita and placed them in the hands of his *Guru*. It is stated that these images were hereditarily worshipped by Ananda Tirtha and his disciples who succeeded him. Narahari worshipped these images and also toured the southern part of India for spreading the Madhava cult and ultimately died on the bank of the river Tungabhadra.

Among the inscriptions which refer to Narahari Tirtha, one at Srikurmam records that Narahari, the disciple of Ananda, set up the images of Sri Ramanatha, Sita Paramesvari and Lakshmanadeva in Srikurmam and made endowments for their daily worship. Another inscription states that the village Korni was granted to fifteen Vaishnavite Brahmins by the order of Narahari Muni, the protege of king Bhanudeva. From these records and others it becomes evident that his donations were made exclusively for the worship of the Vaishnavite gods and for the enjoyment of Vaishnavite Brahmins. His long stay in Orissa was mostly responsible for the ascendancy of Vaishnavism in this country, which we shall have the occasion to discuss at some length later.

Several votive inscriptions at Srikurmanatha aud Simhachalam refer to this king, but although they throw some light on the religious and administrative aspects of his kingdom, they do not add much to our knowledge of history

In western Orissa one stone inscription of his reign, to be still found in the temple of Stambhesvari at Sonepur, proves that the western part of Orissa, reconquered from the Kalachuris by Anangabhimadeva III, had formed an integral part of the Ganga kingdom and the arrangement had been made by the Ganga kings for its administration The inscription was originally in the temple of Vaidyanatha at the village of the same name situated on the river Tel, ten miles from Sonepur. It was subsequently removed to Sonepur by the order of the local chief and preserved in the temple of Stambhesvari. In the epigraph it is recorded that in the seventh *anka* of Vira Bhanudeva Shankara, the ruler of the western part of his kingdom, stationed at Sunapura Kataka (Sonepur), donatad twelve new oblation plates to the god Vaidyanathadeva for the long life of the king Vira Bhanudeva. In this record the donor has been given titles *Samanta, Padiraya, Visavati* and *Paschimadesadhikari*. From the evidence furnished by this record it is clear that the Ganga rule had firmly established itself in the western part their extensive kingdom.

Another inscription of the reign of this king has been recently discovered in the compound of the temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar. It has been edited by the late Mr. B. B. Nath in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 146-149. It records the donation of two pots of cakes for Umadevi by one Bhima Bahika in the thirteenth regnal year of king Bhanudeva. Since the inscription was found engraved on the floor of that part of the Lingaraja compound which is very close to the present temple of Parvati, it has been rightly concluded that the cakes were meant for the daily offering of that deity. The deity in the present temple of Parvati is an Arnapurnna image. So, it has been suggested by the editor that this Arnapurnna image was probably a subsequent substitute of the original image of Umadevi or Parvati. The original image was probably destroyed during some raids by the Muslims.

9. Narasimhadeva II (A.D. 1279—1306)

Like his predecessors Narasimhadeva II is also known from a large number of votive inscriptions to be found on the temples of Srikurmanatha and Simhachalam, but these records do not throw much light on the events of his reign. From one inscription of the Srikurmanatha temple it is evident that Narahari Tirtha was the Governor of Kalinga in the fifth regnal year of this king. It is dated Saka 1204 or A.D. 1282.

From the Kendupatna Copper Plate Grants we learn that Narasimhadeva II was the son of Bhanudeva and his queen Jakalladevi of the Chalukya family. These grants of Narasimhadeva II were made on the occassion of a lunar eclipse in A D. 1295 from the royal camp at Remuna in the Balasore district. The ealier interpretation of a passage in them was that the king issued these charters while he was jubilant over a new conquest near the Ganges, but it is not accepted by the later scholars. As a matter of fact, Narasimhadeva II did not fight with any external enemy. During his reign Tughril Khan, the Governor of Bengal rebelled against Balban, the Sultan of Delhi, and when the Sultan himself led an expedition against him, he fled to Jajnagar, but was ultimately captured and beheaded. This Jajnagar had been identified with Orissa by some earlier scholars, but it is now definitely established that Tughril Khan did not flee to Orissa to escape the fury of the Sultan, but he fled to Tippera. Evidently the Muslims called both Orissa and Tippera as Jajnagar.

10. Bhanudeva II (A.D. 1306—1328)

Bhanudeva II was the son and successor of Narasimhadeva II by his queen Choda Mahadevi. Like his father he has also been referred to in some votive inscriptions to be found at Srikurmanatha and Simhachalm, but the main event of his reign is the invasion of Orissa by Ulugh Khan, son of Ghiyas-ud-din-Tughluq, who later became famous as Muhammad-Bin Tughluq (A D. 1325—51). Ulugh Khan. otherwise also known as Juna Khan, had been sent by his father to subdue Prataparudradeva, king of Warrangal, who had neglected the payment of tribute to the Delhi Sultanate. Ulugh Khan after defeating this Hindu king and forcing him to surrender and to proceed to Delhi with his elephants and treasures, thought of raiding the eastern coast. He proceeded to Rajahmundry where an inscription still to be found in a mosque, records that it was built in A. D. 1324 by Ulugh Khan. From Rajahmundry he proceeded towards Orissa, but king Bhanudeva II sent a large force to his southern frontier, which checked his advance. The Muslim chroniclers make a very brief reference to prince Juna's invasion of Orissa, which indicates that he was not successful in his invasion. The Puri Plates of Narasimhadeva IV definitely state that Bhanudeva II scored a victory over Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq, which means that the invasion Ulugh Khan was successfully checked by Bhanudeva II. In *The Delhi Sultanate* (Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 361-62) Dr A. K. Ray records the following appreciative remarks about the achievement of Bhanudeva II :—

"The Puri Plates of Narasimhadeva IV give him credit for a victory over the king named Gayasadina who has been correctly identified with the Tughluq Sultan, Ghiyas-ud-din. There is, however, nothing to support the contention of R. D. Banerji that 'Bhanudeva II had fought with Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq during his campaign in Bengal". The reference is obviously to the invasion of Orissa by Ghiyas-ud-din's son Ulugh Khan during the reign of the former, to which reference has been made above. There seems to be little doubt that though Muslim forces gained some successes at first, Bhanudeva ultimately forced them to withdraw. In the days when one Hindu State after another was crushing beneath the hammering blows of the Muslim hosts, it was no mean achievement on the part of Bhanudeva II. It is significant that the Muslim historians make only a very brief or passing reference to this expedition".

It is to be noted that Bhanudeva II's victory over Gayasadina as given in the Puri Plates refers actually to the raids of prince Ulugh Khan and not to the invasion of his father Ghiyas-ud-din Tughluq. It

has now been an accepted fact that the invasion of Juna Khan has been represented in the Puri Plates as an invasion of his father. The Muslim chronicles state that Ulugh Khan took away forty elephants from Orissa, but there are reasons to doubt this statement also. Before subduing the Orissan king he was repulsed by him and, therefore, there was no occassion for him to take away forty elephants from the Ganga king In the list of the provinces under the control of Ulugh Khan, given in the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi*, Jajnagar or Orissa has not found mention, which indicates that he failed to subdue the king of Orissa Ulugh Khan's attempt to conquer Orissa was therefore a passing show.

11. Narasimhadeva III (A. D. 1328–1352)

He was the son of Lakshmidevi and his own wife was called Kamaladevi. From the votive inscriptions of Srikurmam and Simhachalam we know the names of his other two queens, Gangadevi and Kommidevi, His long reign of twenty-four years was mostly uneventful.

12. Bhanudeva III (A. D 1352—1378)

He was the son of Narasimhadeva III by his queen Kamaladevi. He is known from several records from Srikurmam, Simhachalam and Mukhalingam. His inscription at Mukhalingam is interesting on account of the fact that his immediate predecessors had practically neglected Saivism and this inscription shows that king Bhanudeva III had still a leaning towards it The chief event of his reign is the invasion of Orissa by Firuz Shah Tughluq, the Sultan of Delhi in A D 1361. The circumstances leading to this invasion can be summarised as follows :

The Sultan during his campaigns in Bengal succeeded in forcing Sikandar, the independent Sultan of Bengal, to pay him tribute and then reached Jaunpur on his way back to Delhi. Then he suddenly conceived of invading Orissa and after leaving his heavy baggages at Kara near Allahabad, he marched towards Orissa with a large cavalry. He marched through Bihar, modern Pachet and Sikhar in the Manbhum district. He then pushed forward through the defiles of Manbhum and Singhbhum till he reached Tinanagar which has been identified with modern Khiching, the ancient capital of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj. Then marching through Keonjhar, the Sultan reached the border of the Cuttack district and then proceeded to the fort Saranghar where king Bhanudeva III was staying. The garrison of the fort fought bravely, but were defeated by the Muslims. The Sultan then marched to the Ganga capital Cuttack and then proceeded to the sacred city of Puri and

demolished the temple of Jagannatha and desecreted the images. From Puri his troops marched to an island in the Chilika lake where a large number of men, women and children had taken shelter. They were mercilessly massacred After this act the Sultan concluded his victorious campaign by an elephant hunt at Padamtala in old Baramba State.

The *Tarihk-i-Firuz Shahi and Sirat-i-Firuz Shahi* are the two Muslim chronicles from which most of the facts connected with Firuz Shaha's invasion of Orissa have been collected by the modern historians, but these two sources differ from each other at material points. The translators of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* have also translated the accounts of this invasion differently. For instance, in the translation of this work by Elliot and Dowson the name of the king of Orissa has been given as Adaya, while in the translation of a passage of the same work by Major Raverty, the king's name appears as Bhanu Diw or Bir Bhanu Dev. Shams-i-Siraj Afif, the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* received his accounts of Firuz's invasion of Orissa from his father, who accompanied the Sultan and author of the *Sirat-i-Firuz Shai* depended for his account even on still later sources. In the circumstances, the account of Firuz Shaha's invasion of Orissa that has come down to us, is a confused one. The Muslim chroniclers have also exaggerated the achievements and the atrocities of the Muslim troops during their operations in Orissa. A modern scholar, Dr. M. A. Haque, after consulting the different sources, has recently tried to throw some new light on Firuz Shaha's invasion in his article on *The Route of Firuz Shaha's Invasion of Orissa in 1360 A.D.* published in *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. XV, Nos. 3 and 4, pp. 62-68. He says, "it is doubtful whether the account is wholly true particularly in respect of the submission of the Bhanudeva III. It is inconceivable how a mighty king with such a large empire and such great resources could so easily submit to a hunting excursion party of Firuz Tughlaq. Up till now there was no epigraphical record of Bhanudeva's reign to prove this event of his reign. In recent times a number of copper plates have been discovered of Bhanudeva III's reign. The copper plates had been issued by Bhanudeva III just after the year of invasion of Firuz Shaha, but there is no mention in those copper plates about the invasion of Firuz. Rather Bhanudeva III in that year had granted rewards to some of his generals for their meritorious services. Therefore, much doubts have arisen about the accounts of Muslim chronicles, which had given a vivid description of Firuz Shaha's invasion of Orissa".

We agree with the young scholar that the accounts of Firuz Shaha's invasion of Orissa have been grossly exaggerated, but we do not

agree with him that the omission of any reference in the Ganga copper plate grants to the Sultan's invasion can constitute a ground for doubting the accounts of the Muslim chronicles. The copper plate grants, as a rule, omit all references to the defeats, disadvantages and disgraces of the donors and their predecessors. Therefore, we can hardly expect any reference to Firuz Shaha's invasion in the Ganga copper plate grants. But the route of Firuz Shaha's invasion in Orissa proper as indicated by Dr. Haque may be taken as correct. He says that the Shaha first reached Saranghar where the king was residing and Bhanudeva III fled towards Choudwar and took refuge in the island of Dhavalesvara. The Sultan pursued him and on the way spent some time in hunting wild elephants. Then Firuz Shaha came towards Cuttack and destroyed the temple of Jagannatha and when he received the news about the people of Orissa who had taken refuge in an island "having a broad and long pool of water", he ordered their general massacre. This broad and long pool of water has been identified by Dr. Haque with the Ansupa lake in the Cuttack district and not the Chilika lake as identified by earlier scholars.

Dr. Haque has agreed with Dr. D. C. Sircar in identifying the temple of Jagannatha destroyed by Firuz Tughluq, with the Jagannatha temple inside the fort of Barabati which had been erected by Anangabhimadeva III, and not with the temple of Jagannatha at Puri built by Chodagangadeva. It is stated in the Muslim chronicles that under the orders of the Sultan the temple of Jagannatha was totally destroyed and razed to the ground. At present no trace of the temple of Jagannatha inside the fort of Barabati is to be found, and this vouchsafes the correctness of the Muslim accounts that it was razed to the ground. The temple at Puri built by Chodaganga still stands in tact and there is hardly any evidence to show that any part of it had been destroyed during the Muslim invasions at any time. Therefore, the temple destroyed by Firuz Shaha was not the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, but it was of temple of Jagannatha built by Anangabhimadeva III in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack. The Muslim chroniclers tell us that the image destroyed by the Sultan was made of stone, but, as we know, the image of Jagannatha at Puri is of wood.

The story of Firuz's invasion of Orissa as given by the Muslim chronicles shows that when the Sultan occupied Ganga king's capital and resided in the place of the Ganga king, Bhanudeva submitted. The name of the capital has been given as Banaras which is without doubt Varanasi Kataka or Abhinava Varanasi Kataka aa given in the Nagari Plates of Anangabhimadeva III. It is now represented by the modern city of

Cuttack It is stated that the Ganga king sent to the Sultan one of his ministers named Baki who, instead of speaking well of his master, bitterly complained against him. He was, therefore, a traitor. The other traitor was Khqan-i-Mu'azzam Ahmed Khan who had been expelled from Bengal by the Sultan Shamsuddin and had taken shelter in the court of Bhanudeva. The two traitors mentioned above, were among the five ministers deputed by the king to represent his case to the Sultan. They are said to have stated that their king had already become a dependent subject of the Sultan. On hearing this the latter replied that his intention was friendly and that he had come to Orissa for the hunt of elephants. According to the negotiation made by the ministers, the Ganga king gave twenty large elephants to the Sultan who in exchange sent to him the robes of honour and insignia and returned home after much difficulty with seventy-three elephants which he had obtained from Bengal and Orissa.

The objects of Firuz's invasion have been variously stated by the modern and medieval writers. The two contemporary official sources cited above, however, clearly state the objects of the Sultan's expedition These objects according to the *Sirat-i Firuz Shahi* were "extirpating Rai Gajapati, massacring the unbelievers, demolishing their temples, hunting elephants and getting a glimpse of their enchanting country." It is obvious that Firuz combined his object of procuring elephants with the spirit of a bigot and vandal and he tried to emulate the example of Mahmmud of Ghazni Like the sack of the Somanatha temple in Gujrat by the latter he intended the sack of the great temple of Jagannatha at Puri but he failed to reach Puri probably due to the lack of the geographical knowledge of his followers. In all likelihood he mistook the great temple of Jagannatha in the fort of Barabati at Cuttack to be the temple of Jagannatha at Puri and was, therefore, satisfied with the destruction of the former. It is a wellknown fact that Firuz Shaha was a religous bigot and during his rule there was a revival of the persecution of the Hindus and the destruction of their religious monuments. In Orissa he must have destroyed many monuments of which we have no history, but the monuments of Khiching, the ancient capital of Mayurbhanj, through which the Sultan passed, still bear the signs of deliberate damage. The city of Cuttack must have originally a number of Hindu temples, but at present no temple of great antiquity is to be found in it. Firuz invaded Orissa when the best period of temple-building in this kingdom had been over It is most likely that during Firuz Shaha's invasion many ancient temples of this country, particularly

of Cuttack, were destroyed. Some architectural and sculptural survivals of the Cuttack temples can now be traced in the town as later fixations.

The massacre of innocent men, women and children ordered by the Sultan also presents a woeful story. Even making an allowance for exaggerations of the Muslim accounts, one has to admit that the lurid picture of the massacre described by them, constitutes a blot on the Sultan's character, which no amount of white-washing can efface. The terms of the treaty concluded by the Sultan with the king of Orissa clearly indicate that he had no intention of making Orissa a part of his empire. The conclusion, therefore becomes unavoidable that Firuz's invasion of Orissa was motivated by his spirit of religious fanaticism, though the procurement of some elephants was his subsidiary object.

The Muslim accounts clearly show that there was treachery among the ministers of the king and they betrayed him instead of helping him in the supreme moment of disaster. Orissa had so far expelled the Muslim expeditions from the neighbouring province of Bengal. But Firuz Shaha's invasion represented an imperial expedition and, therefore, it produced a demoralising effect both on the fighting forces and the common people. Firuz Shaha's invasion resulted in the loss of prestige of the Ganga kingdom from which it did not recover in the subsequent time. The Muslim accounts of his invasion testify to the prosperity of this great Hindu kingdom. The *Tarikh-i-Firuz Shahi* describes the country of Jajnagar as very prosperous and happy. It is further stated that the author's father who was in the royal suite, informed him that this country was in a very flourshing state and the abundance of corn and fruit supplied all wants of the army and animals, so that they recovered from the hardships of the campaign. It is also further stated that people had spacious houses and fine gardens with fruit trees and flower plants, The prosperity of the country must have declined after the invasion of Firuz Shaha.

Ilyas Shaha, the independent Sultan of Bengal, raided Orissa in the middle of the 14th century. The exact date of his raid is not known, but in all likelihood his raid took place in the early part of the reign of Bhanudeva III. The causes of his raid have been stated in a very lucid manner by Sir Jadunath Sarkar in *The History of Bengal, Muslim Period*, pp. 104: "To the south-west of Bengal there extends along the sea-board from Suvarnnarekha to the Godavari a long stretch of alluvial plain, with a hinterland of undulating tract. This country had grown into a highly prosperous kingdom in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its wealth and myriads of temples e. g., of Meghesvara, Balaram, Krishna and Subhadra

at Ekamra (modern Bhubaneswar), Chatesvara at Kishanpur in the Padamtala Taluk of the Cuttack District, of the Sun-god at Konark and of Jagannath at Puri had long excited the cupidity of the Muslim Sultans of Bengal. But the arms of its rulers, especially Anangabhimadeva III, Narasimha I and Narasimha II gave it security against invasion for a century and a quarter".

These causes actuated Ilyas Shaha to launch upon a rapid raid in Orissa. He carried everything before him till he reached the Chilika lake. It is not known whether he destroyed Hindu monuments during his raid, but it is known that he returned to Bengal with immense booty including forty-four elephants The *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Puri makes no reference whatsoever to the Muslim raids in the reign of Bhanudeva III which must have disturbed the peace of the country, resulted in the loss of wealth and prestige and shocked the sentiments of the people. This chronicle records in a stereotyped manner the reigns of six Narasimhas who, according to it, were succeeded by six Bhanus. This account is utterly at variance with the succession of the Ganga kings, that we find from their copper plates. The plain fact seems to be that this chronicle was not compiled during the Ganga period and when it was compiled towards the close of the sixteenth century the traditions about the Muslim invasions had been forgotten.

Bhanudeva not only became embroiled with the Muslim invasions from the north, but also with the difficulties of defending his southern frontier which from the days of Chodaganga has been fixed at the river Godavari. By the end of his reign dramatic developments in the political field had taken place beyond this river. In A D. 1347 the great Muslim kingdom of Bahamani had been founded with its capital at Gulbarga and the great Vijayanagara empire had already started its political role since its foundation in A.D. 1336. The arms of Vijayanagara had rached the river Krishna. A small but fertile and rich Hindu kingdom had been founded by the warlike Reddis between the rivers Krishna and Godavari. With the help of the Hindu Bellamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda, who were the implacable enemies of the Reddis, the Bahamani Sultans were trying to conquer this fertile and rich Hindu kingdom. The Vijayanagara emperors were trying at this time to push their frontier beyond the river Krishna by conquering the Reddi kingdom. The alignment and activities of these powers beyond the southern frontier of Orissa were a real menace to the security of the Ganga kingdom.

The conflict between Orissa and the Reddi kingdom seems to have started during the reign of Bhanudeva III when the Reddi king

Anapota (A.D. 1355-1365) appears to have led an expedition against Orissa His successors Anavema succeeded in conquering the Ganga territory upto Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district. This violence of the southern Ganga frontier by the Reddis brought them into conflict with the Ganga rulers who ever since attempted to recover their lost territories. Bhanudeva III died in the midst of the difficulties and was succeeded by his son Narasimha IV.

13. Narasimhadeva IV (A D. 1378-1414)

From two of his Puri Plates we learn that his mother's name was Hiradevi who was a princess of the Eastern Chalukya dynasty. The Eastern Chalukyas had by this time lost their independent status and had become the feudatories of the Gangas and their strong supporters in the southern frontier. Their marriage alliances with the Ganga kings appear to have strengthened their position in their chiefdom. Besides Narasimha's copper plate grants, a large number of inscriptions to be found at Srikurmam and Simhachalam constitute the sources of our knowledege about the events of his reign. During his reign the independent kingdom of Jaunpur was founded by Khwaja Zahan, who according to some earlier writers, wanted to enforce the terms of treaty concluded with the Sultan Firuz Shaha by king Banudeva III. It was maintained that according to this treaty, the king of Orissa was to supply annually to the Sultan a number of elephants as annual tribute. But this account of the earlier scholars has not been accepted by Dr. A. K. Ray who states that the so-called treaty of the Orissan king with Firuz Tughluq was merely "a formal but meaningless recognition of the authority of the Sultanate." He has pointed out that in the list of the territories over which Khwaja Zahan established his authority, the name of Orissa does not appear. He has also discarded the accounts of Ferishta and Nizam-ud-din that the Sharqi king levied tributes from the ruler of Bengal. He has also dismissed Major Raverty's statement that the Bahamani king Firuz invaded Orissa and carried away a number of elephants.

It would appear that Narasimhadeva IV was comparatively free from the Muslim invasions, but the Reddis of Kondavidu were a real menace to the safety and security of Orissa. Due to a civil war caused by a disputed succession, the Reddis for a while remained embroiled in their difficulties and this gave an opportunity to Narasimhadeva IV to recover some of his territories in the southern frontier. The Reddis, however, again became powerful under their famous king Kumaragiri who in A. D 1390 invaded Orissa and reached the shores of the Chilika lake. The Reddi king did not mean to conquer any part of Orissa, but

by a show of his military strength he wanted to threaten the powers of the Ganga king in his southern frontier. This invasion must have reduced the prestige of the Ganga kingdom.

14. Bhanudeva IV (A.D. 1414–1434)

Copper plate grants, votive inscriptions at Srikurmam and Simhachalam, Muslim chronicles, the *Madalapanji*, the temple chronicle of Puri, and the Sanskrit drama *Gangavamsanuchairtam* are the sources of our information about the events of his reign. The main events are his conflict with the Reddis, the invasjon of Orissa by Hushang Shah of Malwa and usurpation of the Ganga throne by Kapilendradeva.

His conflict with Reddis : After the death of Kumaragiri there was a civil war in the Reddi kingdom. Kumaragiri had divided his kingdom into two parts with Kondavidu and Rajahmundry as their capitals and had given the province of Rajahmundry to his brother-in-law Kataya Vema and the province of Kondavidu to Peda Komati Vema. But even this arrangement did not bring peace to the Reddi kingdom. The rulers of both the provinces came into conflict and this gave an opportunity to Bhanudeva IV to attack Rajahmundry which was at that time administered by Allada, the general of Kataya Vema. He seems to have achieved some success, but his interference in the affairs of the Reddis seems to have induced the Vijayanagara emperor Devaraya to send an army to help Allada who ultimately managed to establish friendly relations both with Orissa and Vijayanagara.

Bhanudeva's friendly relation with the Reddi kingdom stood him in good stead when Hushang Shah invaded Orissa. The story of his invasion as recorded in the Muslim chronicles is briefly as follows :

For his war with Gujrat the Sultan of Malwa was in need of elephants and since Orissa was the fabled country of best elephants, he led an expedition to it in the guise of a dealer in horses. He took with him horses of different colours which the king of Orissa prized most. When Bhanudeva with small band of followers wanted to examine the horses brought by the Shah, he was treacherously seized and made captive and was not released till he promised to give to the Sultan some of his best elephants. The returned journey of Hushang Shah was not however safe. He was badly defeated by the Reddi chief Allada who got the horses of the Sultan to be plundered.

This event seems to have found mention in the *Madalapanji* in which it is stated that a *Suva* or a *Navava* came to the kingdom

of the last Ganga king and Kapili Rauta was deputed by the king to meet him and to negotiate with him. Kapili pleaded that since his rank was not very high, the king should send his younger brother or his minister to meet the *Navava*. Thereafter the king conferred to him the title of *Bhramaravara* which is indicative of a higher rank and after that Kapili proceeded to meet the *Navava*. The result of his meeting has not been given in the chronicle. There is little doubt that *Suva* or the *Navava* of the *Madalapanji* refers to a Muslim invader, who in the light of facts known to us, should be identified with Hushang Shah. The Muslim version of the story is that the Ganga king was seized by Hushang Shah, but the *Madalapanji's* account indicates that he never met the invadar. It may not be unreasonable to conclude that Hushang Shah got some elephants from Bhanudeva through negotiations conducted by his able officer Kapili who can be no other than the Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasty. The story of the seizure of Bhanudeva by Hushang Shah appears to be a fabricated one.

In describing the defeat or the disgrace of the Hindu rulers by the Muslim invaders the Muslim chronicles have repeated some stories which do not appear to be credible. The Muslim sources have stated that a Bakhtyar Khaliji entered the city of Nadiya in Bengal in the guise of a dealer in horses. We find the same story repeated in the account of the invasion of Orissa by Hushang Shah of Malwa who is also said to have entered the Ganga capital in the guise of a dealer of horses. During the invasion of Orissa by Firuz Shaha Tughluq in the reign of the king Bhanudeva III the Sultan is said to have seized the king. In the case of Hushang Shah's invasion of Orissa it is also stated that he seized the king Bhanudeva IV and did not release him till after he promised to give to him his best elephants. In these stories one finds an attempt of the Muslim chroniclers to magnify the exploits of the Muslim invaders. If the capture of Bhanudeva III by Firuz Shah was true, it becomes inexplicable how Bhanudeva IV did not profit by the discomfiture of his grandfather and met Hushang Shah with such a small band of followers that he could be easily captured by him. We, therefore, give greater credence to the evidence of the *Madalapanji* that it is Kapili Rauta who appeared before Hushang Shah and negotiated a peace with him. As we have said earlier, this Kapili Rauta was no other than Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasty in Orissa. For his success in warding off the Muslim danger, he was promoted to the rank of a *Bhramaravara* which gave him a very respectable and high

position in the State, and which he utilised later in usurping the Ganga throne.

There is nothing to indicate that Bhanudeva IV was mad or half-mad, but the *Madalāpanji* has described him as *Matta* Bhanu (mad Bhanu). We find from various sources that he continued to fight bravely with the Reddis for preservation of the integrity of his vast kingdom even after the invasion of Hushang Shah. The Reddi chief Allada, who had made friendly alliances both with Vijayanagara and Orissa, died about A.D. 1423 and this provided an opportunity to Bhanudeva to invade the Reddi country In his war with the Reddis he was strongly supported by the Bellamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda, who, as we have said earlier, were the implacable enemies of the Reddis. No records of the Reddis of Kondavidu for the period between A. D. 1425 and 1433, and of Rajahmundry between A.D. 1423 and 1428, have been discovered in series, indicating that during this interval Bhanudeva IV succeeded in occupying the Reddi country.

But his success seems to have been short-lived as he had soon to face the arms of the mighty Vijayanagara empire. He could no longer count upon the support of the Bellamas who had in the meanwhile been subdued and made feudatories by the Bahamani Sultan. He had, therefore, to fight single handed against a great empire. The result was that he was driven out from the Reddi country and the Vijayanagara army advanced as far as Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district and occupied it. The Orissan king was 'unable to resist the arms of Vijayanagara, though only for a short while, he seems to have recaptured Simhachalam as his inscription at this place dated A. D. 1430 indicates. Bhanudeva was ultimately driven out from the Reddi country before A.D. 1434. While he was busy in his wars in the south for long there was a revolution at his capital which resulted in the occupation of the throne by Kapilendradeva. Bhanudeva hurried back to Orissa to supress the revolution and to regain his throne, but failed. The circumstances under which he failed to regain his throne are not known, but according to the Sanskrit drama *Gangavamsanucharitam* after his failure he captured a small principality called Gudari Kataka, identified with Gudari in the Gunupur subdivision of the present Koraput district, and lived there for the rest of his life

With the usurpation of the throne by Kapilendra in A. D. 1434 the Ganga period, which is the longest in Orissan dynastic history, came to an end. The Gangas established their contact with Orissa ever since the foundation of their kingdom in Kalinga about A.D. 496, from which

the Ganga era started according to a generally accepted view. When Chodaganga conquered Orissa about A.D. 1110, the Gangas became intimately connected with the Oriya people, with the protection of their country and its administration and development. As we have said earlier, they virtually became Oriyas speaking Oriya, patronising Oriya literature and priding themselves in the glories of Orissa's past. In the accounts of the Muslims, the Portuguese, the Telugus and the Tamils the Ganga kings have been referred to as Oriya kings and their kingdom as the Oriya country. As observed earlier, Chodaganga transferred his capital from Mukhalingam to Cuttack which occupied a central and a strategical position in his vast kingdom and from this time the Gangas gradually became transformed into Oriyas. The transformation appears to have been complete by the reign of Anangabhimadeva III.

The Ganga kingdom has been described as an empire by some writers. It sometimes actually assumed the extent of an empire particularly in the reigns of Chodaganga and Narasimhadeva I, but this extent could not be maintained all through the Ganga supremecy in Orissa. We have, therefore, described it as a kingdom which was indeed a vast one. The Ganga kings seem to have been actuated by the principle of legitimacy and acting upon it they always tried to preserve the original extent of their kingdom as it existed since the days of Chodaganga. We have seen that Chodaganga attempted to wrest the Sonepur-Sambalpur tract from the Kalachuris of Ratnapura and in doing so he was merely trying to enforce a legal claim to this tract. He claimed to be the successor of the Somavamsis by conquest and, therefore, he was trying to establish his legal claim to this western frontier of his kingdom. He failed to achieve his ambition, but it was fulfilled by his great-grandson Anangabhimadeva III who succeeded in occupying that western frontier of Orissa. Narasimha I's invasion of Bengal seems also to have been originated from this principle of legitimacy. Chodaganga had conquered a part of south-west Bengal up to the river Bhagirathi and had established a secondary capital at Aramya (Arambag in the Hooghly district, but subsequently this portion of Bengal was reconquered by the Senas. Narasimha I, therefore, launched upon an aggressive warfare partly with a view to stem the tide of the Muslim aggression against Orissa and partly due to recover the lost territory of his ancestor. The Gangas held a portion of the Telugu-speaking tract up to river Godavari on the same ground of legitimacy. Kalinga was the cradle of the Ganga power and, therefore, the Greater Gangas claimed that portion as belonging to their kingdom and fought with other powers when they tried to encroach upon

the land north-east of the river Godavari. The last Ganga king Bhanudeva IV lost his throne while he was engaged in his fight with the Reddis and the Vijayanagara empire in defending his southern frontier. The Gangas seems to have no intention of conquering any part of the Telugu country beyond the river Godavari and if they ever pushed their territory beyond that river it was due to their attempt to safeguard boundary of their kingdom, permanently fixed by the river Godavari.

The greatest achievement of the Gangas is that they succeeded in keeping their vast kingdom independent when the Hindu countries one after another were falling victims to Muslim aggression. During the early part of the Ganga supremacy in Orissa the Muslims conquered the neighbouring Bengal towards the close of the twelfth century and in the later part of their rule, the kingdom of the Kakatiyas, which too was a neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Orissa in the south, was conquered by the Muslims in A.D. 1310. Orissa was thus surrounded by the Muslim powers both in the north and the south. It reflects no small credit on the Ganga rulers that they succeeedd in preserving the independence of their kingdom and its integrity. From the Muslim sources we get the exaggerated accounts of the invasions of Orissa by Firuz Shah, Ilyas Shah and Hushang Shah, but such invasions were mere raids originating from their lust for procuring some elephants, killing the infidels and destroying their temples. These invaders did not succeed in making Orissa subordinate to the Muslim power. We have got one-sided versions of these invasions or military raids from the Muslim writers who wanted to magnify the exploits of the invaders, but such versions do not tell us why the invaders did not subjugate the independent Hindu kingdom of Orissa The accounts of Firuz Shaha's invasion as given in the Muslim sources testify to the prosperity of Orissa even in the declining period of the Ganga supremacy. They tell us that grains and fruits were in plenty in this country and the people lived in spacious houses with the gardens of fruit trees and flower plants This evidence furnished by the enemy sources indicates that the Gangas has made Orissa prosperous.

It is sometimes maintained that since Orissa was full of hills and jungles, the physical features of the country provided a natural protection to it and that the Muslims had no intention of subjugating Orissa, which did not seem to them to be a source of profit. This view cannot, however, be accepted if we take into consideration the fact that the Muslim arms did never care for the geographical difficulties presented by other Hindu countries, which they conquered one by one. According to

Muslim historians Orissa was a prosperous country under the Ganga rule and there was no reason for them to think that this country, after subjugation, would prove to be unprofitable. The Ganga rulers possessed a vast army which was the source of their strength. The one-sided Muslim accounts of the Muslim raids of this period, have belittled the opposition of the Ganga army and have represented the Muslim raids as if they were the hunting excursions.

The Gangas united Orissa politically and culturally. The process had started from the days of the Somavamsis who united the three separate regions, then known as Kosala, Utkala and Kongoda, into one kingdom, which facilitated the growth of a homogeneous culture and language The Gangas accelerated this process by bringing all these tracts under their rule and by furthering the growth of a homogenous culture in their kingdom. The shrine of Jagannatha at Puri which assumed an all-India character during their rule, became a great centre of cultural fusion among the Oriya people. The Gangas built the great temples like those of Jagannatha at Puri and of the sun god at Konarka and myriads of other smaller temples in various cultural centres of Orissa, and these shrines became the centres of cultural unification. The Ganga rule in Orissa is thus a great landmark of Orissan history.

The greatest cause of the fall of the Ganga rule was treachery among the Ganga officers. The officers deputed by Bhanudeva III to meet Firuz Shah, instead of speaking well of their king, complained against him, and received as rewards the robes of honour from the invader. Bhanudeva IV's long absence in the south provided an occasion for the treacherous officers to help Kapilendra to usurp the Ganga throne. We have seen that it was due to the treachery of the officers that the last Somavamsi king Karnadeva lost his throne. The same type of treachery was at the root of the fall of the Ganga dynasty.

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13. K. C. Panigrahi — "Sonepur Inscription of Bhanudeva," *The Orissa Historical Research Journal*, Vol. X, 1962, No. 4.

14. C. V. Ramachandra Rao — *Administration and Society in Medieval Andhra under the Later Eastern Gangas and the Suryavamsa Gajapatis*, Nellore, 1976.

10. The Suryavamsis

Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Orissan Empire (A.D. 1435–1467)

We have stated earlier that the circumstances under which Kapilendra occupied the Ganga throne are not known to us The only source, the *Madalapanji,* which gives an account of his early life and the circumstances under which he became a successor of Bhanudeva, is not a reliable one. It tells us that Kapili Rauta (Kapilendra) was extremely poor and in his early life he was working as a cow-herd in the house of a Brahmin family. One day while he was tending cows, he fell asleep under a tree, when a cobra spread its hood over his face to protect it from sun. It is also stated that Kapilendra was a thief in his early life and he made Kasidasa, a member of his former gang, his *Purohita,* when he became king. It is further stated that Kapilendra was begging for food in the temple of Jagannatha when Bhanudeva, the last king of the Ganga dynasty, saw him and adopted him as his son according to the command of Lord Jagannatha, which he had received in a dream in the previous night. We have seen that this chronicle also tells us that Kapili Rauta or Kapilendra was deputed by Bhanudeva IV to meet the *Navava* (Hushang Shah) and to negotiate a peace with him.

These are the few facts which are known to us from the *Madalapanji* about the early life of this great king, but these facts cannot all be accepted as true on account of their legendary character. It may be that Kapilendra was a member of a poor family, but he does not seem to have been so poor as has been described by this chronicle. In the midst of the legendary account of the temple chronicle we however find some historical facts. Kapilendra was a member of the Ganga army when Hushang Shah invaded Orissa and he was made a *Bhramaravara* by Bhanudeva before he met the invader. The title *Bhramaravara* was indicative of a very high rank and it was generally borne by the members of a royal family. This title came down to modern times and the present

writer knows that it was being borne by one of the members of the ruling family of Keonjhar. It seems that Hushang Shah's invasion gave an opportunity to Kapilendra to rise to a higher rank in the Ganga army, which he utilised later in usurping the Ganga throne. The *Gangavamsanucharitam*, which was composed by a court poet of one of the descendants of Bhanudeva IV at Gudari Kataka, tells us the truth that the founder of the principality of Gudari Kataka was engaged in his wars in the south when Kapilendra usurped his throne. We cannot accept the statement of the *Madalapanji* that Kapilendra was adopted as son by the last Ganga king as he was childless. Had Kapilendra been adopted son of Bhanudeva, he would have been described as a Ganga King in his records and in the records of his successors. But he and his son and grandson have all been described as the members of the *Suryavamsa* in all epigraphic records of the family. It seems that a story was circulated by Kapilendra and his supporters that he had been chosen as successor of Bhanudeva by Lord Jagannatha. This story has found mention not only in the *Madalapanji* but also in the Gopinathapura Stone Inscription engraved under the orders of his minister Gopinatha Mahapatra. The relevant verse has been translated as follows by the late Manamohan Chakravarti, the editor of the epigraph :

"By the order of the Lord of Nilagiri (blue hill) (who is) the lord of the three worlds (Jagannatha), there was born in the Odradesa a king named Kapilendra, the ornament of the Solar Line (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIV, 1901, p. 175)".

From this contemporary epigraph we get the definite information that Kapilendra was a Kshatriya of the Solar dynasty and that he was born in Odradesa or Orissa. It was customary with the ruling families to connect their origin with gods or with the persons of Puranic or historical fame. After ascending the throne Kapilendra might have connected his origin with the legendary Solar dynasty, even though in his early life he might have been a member of a humble Kshatriya family. The verse in the above-quoted epigraph tells us definitely that he and his family were the natives of Orissa and like Gangas and the Somavamsis they did not come to Orissa from the neighbouring territories. Some scholars have unjustifiably stated that Kapilendra was a man of Gauda (Bengal). This view about his origin cannot now be accepted.

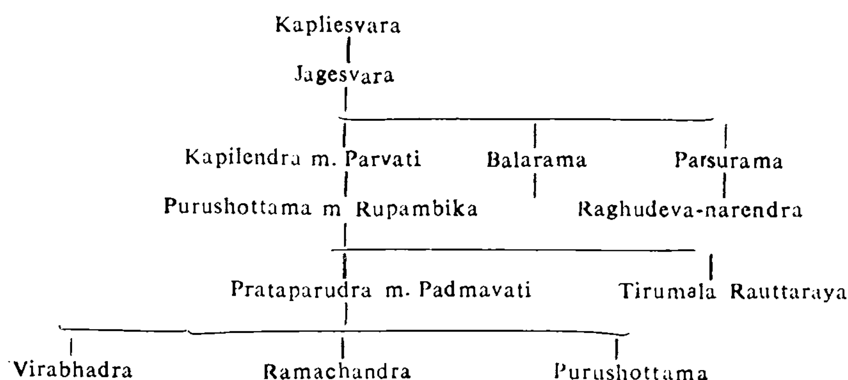
If the evidence of the *Madalapanji* is to be accepted, Kapilendra was crowned at Krittivasa Kataka *i.e* Bhubaneswar. This illegal change of regime does not seem to have been tacitly accepted by all feudatories. Among the feudatories there were the Matsyas of Oddadi,

the Silavamsi chiefs of Nandapur (in the present Koraput district) and the Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins of Panchadharla in the Vizagapatam district and the feudatory chiefs of the hilly tracts of Orissa. The Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins, who claimed to be the descendants of the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, were very powerful and they, as we have already seen, had matrimonial alliances with the Ganga ruling family. All these feudatories would not have tacitly acquiesced with the change of the ruling dynasty introduced by Kapilendra. One of his inscriptions engraved under his orders on the *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar, records an order passed in the 7th year of his reign and addressed by him to the feudatories in the presence of the royal spiritual preceptors, Vasu Mahapatra and Bhuvanesvara Mahapatra. It runs thus : "all kings in my kingdom of Orissa should work for the good of the paramount sovereign and should keep to virtuous ways and not remain in bad ways. If they act badly towards their sovereign, they will be expelled from the kingdom and all their propoerty confiscated." This order was obviously meant for those who were reluctant to recognise him as the king of Orissa.

From the very beginning of his reign he was also confronted with the difficulties that had loomed large in his north and south frontiers. On the north there was the danger of Muslim invasion from Bengal in which the later Ilyas Shahis and the Abyssinian Sultans were ruling. In the south the Vijayanagara emperor Devaraya II had occupied the territories up to Simhachalam in the Vizagapatam district. Kapilendra started his task of empire building in the midst of these difficulties.

From the date of his coronation at Bhubaneswar an era started and it is now known as *Kapilabda*, which finds mention in all Oriya calendars. This era helps us to fix tne beginning of his reign accurately. Since the era commenced from A.D. 1435 there is little doubt that Kapilendra ascended the throne in that year. The title Gajapati borne by the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasty and his successors did not originate from A D. 1435. We find evidences from the Muslim and Telugu sources that this title was also being used by the Later Ganga kings. Therefore, to describe Kapilendra and his successors as Gajapati kings does not appear to be quite correct. The dynasty founded by him can better be described as the Suryavamsi dynasty

A recently discovered copper plate grant of Raghudeva-narendra (*Indian Archaeology*, 1955-56, p. 31) furnishes the pedigree of Kapilendra. Barring its legendary portion which starts from the sun and ends with Kusa, the son of Rama of the Ramayana fame, the real genealogy of the family given in the above record stands as follows :



From the Veligalani Copper Plates we learn that the name of Kapilendra's mother was Bellama which is not a Telugu name as some scholars have taken it to be. It is an indigenous name, the meaning of which is obscure. We know from the *Madalapanji* and the *Gangavamsanucharitam* that before capturing the Ganga throne, Kapilendra assumed at least three different titles viz. *Rauta, Mahapatra* and *Bhramaravara*. *Rauta* is a military title which indicates that the holder of the title was a horseman. *Mahapatra* was a general title conferred on the distinguished officers of the Ganga army and *Bhramaravara*, as we have observed earlier, is a very high title generally used by the members of royal families. From these titles we can guess the gradual rise of Kapilendra to high position in the Ganga army. He was originally an humble horseman, but next became a *Mahapatra* and then a *Bhramaravara*. In the Gopinathpura Inscription Kapilendra has been described as *Bhramaravara nripati*. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam thinks that Kapilendra assumed this title after conquering Bhramarakutta, mentioned in the epigraphs of the Mahakosala chiefs of the twelfth century A D., and he identifies Bhramarakutta with the modern town of Umarkot now in Koraput district of Orissa. But, as we have said earlier, *Bhramaravara* is not a place-name, but it is a title borne by the members of Orissan ruling families even up to a very late date. We thus gather a few facts about the early life of Kapilendra, but we are absolutely in the dark about the status and activities of his father and forefathers. In all probability, they were the persons of ordinary status. This explains why in the copper plate records of this dynasty nothing is said about the achievements of the ancestors of Kapilendra. In the epigraphic records the name of the founder of Suryavamsi dynasty appears as Kapilendra and Kapilesvara. Though the latter name has been used more often in the inscriptions, the name Kapilendra has been chosen by the scholars and therefore, we have used it in this work.

It is not possible to describe Kapilendra's career of conquest in a chronological order as the details of his exploits and activities have not been mentioned in our sources in a chronological manner. We may, however, presume that his earliest task would have been to supress the feudatories who refused to recognise him as the king of Orissa and who might have declared their independence during the last part of Bhanudeva IV's reign. The powerful chiefs, as noted earlier, were the Silavamsis of Nandapura, Matsyas of Oddadi and the Vishnuvardhana Chakravartins of Panchadharla. They were all suppressed and subjugated by Kapilendra in the early part of his reign. We also learn from the *Madalapanji* that he suppressed the revolt of Khemundi which appears to be one of the chiefdoms of the present Ganjam district, bearing the names Sana Khemundi, Bada Khemundi and Paralakhemundi.

Kapilendra and Bengal : Even during the declining period of the Ganga supremacy Orissa held extensive tracts in south western Bengal and it is not unlikely that during the turmoil of the later Ilyas Shahis of Bengal the Gangas pushed their frontier to the river Bhagirathi This appears to have been the cause of his conflict with Nasiruddin Abul Muzaffer Mahmad, a descendant of Ilyas. In an inscription dated A.D. 1447 Kapilendra has been given the title of *Gaudesvara* which means the conquerer of Gauda or Bengal. In the same inscription it is stated that he conquered *Malika Parisa* which has been interpreted by the scholars as meaning the Muslim rulers of Gaur in Bengal. We do not know the details of the conflict between Kapilendra and Mahmad, but it has been accepted by all scholars that he succeeded in conquering a large portion of south west Bengal up to the river Ganges.

Conquest of Rajahmundry : We have seen that the Reddis of Rajahmundry had conquered a part of the Ganga territory up to Simhachalam : Virabhadra I, the contemporary king of Rajahmundry, failed to take advantage of the confusion caused by the usurpation of the throne by Kapilendra in Orissa, because of the fact that the existence of his kingdom was being threatened at this time by the Bellamas of Rachakonda and Devarakonda and by the Sultan of the Bahamani kingdom. The principalities of the Bellama chiefs lay to the west of the kingdom of the Reddis and they had in their possession such strong forts as Devarakonda, Rachakonda and Warangal. They fought against the Reddis as the allies of Vijayanagara when Kondavidu was occupied by Devaraya II. Virabhadra's last date, known from his inscriptions, is A.D. 1437. By this time the kingdom of Rajahmundry had become completely subservient to Vijayanagara An inscription, dated A.D. 1444 at Draksharama which

records the donations by Virabhadra and also by Mallappa Odeyar who was an officer of Vijayanagara, indicates that the Reddi kingdom was completely under the control of the Vijayanagara empire. Dr. R. Subrahmanyam makes an inference from the contents and the position of this inscription that Mallappa Odeyar had probably been appointed by the Vijayanagara emperor to check the advance of Kapilendra. It is not, however, known whether there was actually a fight between Vijayanagara and Orissa at this stage. Devaraya II died in A.D.1446 and was succeeded by his son Mallikarjunaraya who was very weak. The Reddis of Rajahmundry did not receive any support from him. Kapilendra took advantage of this position in the kingdom of Rajahmundry and sent his son Hamvira with a large army and succeeded in defeating the Reddis very easily. The kingdom of Rajahmundry was thus brought under the sway of Kapilendra before A. D. 1448.

Conquest of Kondavidu ; After the death of Devaraya II the hold of Vijayanagara on the kingdom of Kondavidu also became slack. The feudatory chiefs of the kingdom like those of Bapatla and Narasaraopet declared their independence at this time, as is indicated by the fact that they made no reference to any overlord in their inscriptions. Kapilendra seems to have taken advantage of this situation in Kondavidu and occupied it before A.D. 1454. The earliest inscription of the Orissan king in this region is that of Ganadeva, which is dated A.D.1454 and which describes Ganadeva as the *Pariksha* (Governor) of Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda. The epigraph conclusively proves that by A.D. 1454 Kapilendra had become the master of the former Reddi kingdoms of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu.

Conquest of Telingana : Having become the master of the Krishna-Godavari delta Kapilendra thought of conquering Telingana which lay between the former Reddy kingdom and the Bahamani kingdom of the Deccan. We have stated earlier that Rachakonda, Devarakonda and Warangal were the most important forts of Telingana and they were under the occupation of the Bellama chiefs. They were hostile to the Reddis, but were at first friendly to the Bahamani Sultans. Their friendship with the Sultans however came to an end when they sided with king Devaraya I of Vijayanagara in a war against Firuz Shah Bahamani. Ahmad Shah who succeeded Firuz on the Bhamani throne, wanted to punish the Bellama chiefs. They again sided with Vijayanagara king Devaraya II against Ahmad Shah in a war fought in A.D. 1425. Sultan Ahmad Shah sent Khan-i-Azim to suppress the Bellama chiefs and to bring them under the control of the Bahamani kingdom. This

able general succeeded in reducing the whole of Telingana within four months. The Sultan next appointed Ibrahim Sanjar Khan as the Governor of the conquered territories of Telingana with the instruction to reduce the remaining forts of the territory. Sanjar Khan fulfilled the desire of his master and succeeded in bringing the whole of Telingana under Muslim authority by A.D.1435.

The conquest of the Krishna-Godavari delta brought Orissa face to face with the Bahamani kingdom of the Deccan. The Bahamani Sultan had appointed Sanjar Khan as the Governor of the newly conquered Telingana highland. It is stated in the *Burhan-i-Ma'nasir* that Sanjar Khan was engaged in capturing Hindu non-combatants with a view to sell them as slaves in the Muslim kingdoms. Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, the then Sultan of the Bahamani kingdom, is stated to h.ve said that it was dangerous on the part of the Khan to meddle with the affairs of a man like Kapilendra who possessed two hundred thousand war elephants, while the Sultan himself did not possess even two hundred. This warning went unheeded and Sanjar Khan continued in his activities unabated and thereby outraged the Hindu sentiments. During this period two notable nobles of the Sultan, Jalan Khan and Sikandar Khan, raised the standard of revolt against him, but were subdued. Alauddin II died in A.D.1457 and was succeeded by his son Humayun whose tyrannical acts threw the Bahamani state into disorder. Immediately after his accession he made drastic changes in the administration. He appointed Malik Shah as the Governor of Telingana and conferred on him the title Khwaja-i-Jahan. Sikandar Khan, who was the son of Jalal Khan, become disappointed, as he too wanted to be the governor of Telingana. He joined his father Jalal Khan at Nowlgoond and raised the standard of revolt in Telingana against the Sultan. In this rebellion they seem to have been supported by Linga, the Bellama chief of Devarakonda. The Sultan first sent an army against them under Khan-i-Jahan, Governor of Berar, but since he failed to suppress them, Humayun himself marched against the rebels. In the battle that followed, Sikandar Khan was killed by the elephant on which Humayun was mounted. Humayun next forced Jalal Khan to surrender, but pardoned him and kept him in confinement in a castle till his death.

The Sultan next wanted to punish the Bellama chief Linga who had aided the rebels, and sent a vast army under Khwaja-i-Jahan and Nizam-ul-Mulk to attack Devarakonda. They besieged Devarakonda and there upon the Bellama chief appealed to Kapilendra to come to his aid.

The king of Orissa lost no time and by forced marches appeared at the head of an army at Devarakonda so quickly that the Bahamani army was seized with panic. The besieged garrison sallied out from the fort and the Bahamani army, caught between the two Hindu armies, was completely routed. The Muslim historians admit that the Bahamani forces 'sustainad a total defeat. The brilliant success achieved by the Hindus at Devarakonda, was an outcome of Kapilendra's superior generalship The battle of Devarakonda took place in A.D.1458.

Encouraged by this success Kapilendra entrusted the task of conquering the whole of Telingana to his son Hamvira, who proved equal to the task and captured all important forts including the notable fort of Warangal. Humayun had stationed Khwaja Mahmad Gawan at Warangal, but Hamvira defeated him and occupied the fort. An inscription dated A.D. 1460, of this Oriya prince still exists at Warangal which gives us an account of his father's achievements.

Humayun died in A.D.1461 and was succeded by his son Nizam Shah who was only eight years old. Humayun's tyranny had thrown the kingdom into disorder and many of the officers had fled from the country. The queen mother Makhdumah Jahan and the able statesman Mahamud Gawan wanted to restore order in the kingdom, but the minority of the king encouraged external foes to attack the Bahamani kingdom. At this stage there seems to have been a conjoint effort of the Hindu chiefs of Telingana and the king of Orissa to attack the Bahamani kingdom collectively and to overthrow the Muslim supremacy in the Deccan. Kapilendra, acknowledged to be best general of the age, put himself at the head of a vast Hindu army and marched against the Bahamani capital Bidar.

The Hindu army, while proceeding towards Bidar plundered and devastated the country and were soon at a short distance of ten miles from Bidar. It is stated by Sayyid Ali and Ferishta that the Sultan sent Shah Mohib Ullah with a messege and with an escort of one hundred and sixty men to present an ultimatum to Kapilendradeva immediately to retreat and to promise to pay tribute to the Sultan or else the Sultan would not allow a single man of his army to escape. It is further stated that this small escort of one hundred and sixty men attacked the Hindu army so boldly that the Hindus, thinking that the whole army was in motion, fell back and took refuge in a fort the name of which is not given. The Orissan king was forced to pay a large sum of money to the Sultan and the Hindu army started their retreat unmolested by the Muslim forces.

All notable scholars are now agreed that these accounts of the Musilm historians bear on them the stamp of untruth Dr. R. Subrahmanyam quotes the remarks of Briggs as follows : "Ferishta had exercised neither discretion nor even much research in not endeavouring to account for the sudden retreat of the Hindus; for it is absurd to suppose that the mere appearance of one hundred and sixty men would alone have broken up a confederacy which seems to have been so seriously formed for the recovery of Tullingana". Prof R. D. Banerjee and Mr. P. Mukherji have also passed similar remarks exposing the untruth of the Muslim accounts. Prof. R. D. Banerjee refutes the statement of Sir T. W. Haig, the editor of the *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. III, that the Orissan king purchased peace by paying money, and then comes to a conclusion that it was tha Sultan who purchased peace by paying money to the Hindu king. Such a conclusion is not however warranted by the sources of our information.

Dr. Subrahmanyam has explained the real causes of the retreat of Kapilendra. He had shown that the main bulk of the Orissan army was at this time engaged in the war of the south and just then Orissa was threatened with an invasion from Jaunpur under the leadership of the Sultan Hussain Sharqi. These causes were responsible for the retreat of the Hindu army from neighbourhood of Bidar.

Conquest of a part of Vijayanagara empire ; We have seen that Kapilendra first came into conflict with the Vijayanagara empire over the possession of the territories of his own kingdom in the Vizagapatam district which Vijayanagara had accupied as far as Simhachalam. After succeeding in recapturing these territories, he next attempted to annex the kingdom of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu which were then under the control of the Vijayanagara empire. Having succeded in conquering both the kingdoms, he next attempted to conquer further territories from the Vijayanagara empire along the coast of the Telugu-speaking tract. The death of Devaraya II in A.D. 1446 and the succession of his weak son Mallikarjuna in A D. 1447 provided an opportunity to Kapilendra to take such a bold step. It is stated in the *Gangadasa-vilasa charitam* of Gangadhara that the Gajapati in combination with the Hayapati (the Bahamani Sultan) wanted to humiliate the young emperor with a view to wipe out the disgrace of their former defeat from Vijayanagara. The Anantavaram Plates of Prataparudra, the grandson of Kapilendera, state that Kapilendra sent his son Hamvira to conquer Hampi, the capital of Vijaypanagara, and that his able son succeeded in conquering it and forcing the Vijayanagara

emperor to pay tribute. We thus find evidences from both the sides that Hamvira had actually proceeded up to the capital of Vijayanagara with a view to conquer it, but the result of this invasion has been differently stated in the above mentioned work of Gangadhara. He assigns the victory to his patron Mallikarjuna and tells that his patron sallied forth from the capital like the cub of a lion from his den and routed the combined armies of the Gajapati and Hayapati. In the face of these conflicting statements of both the sources it becomes difficult to ascertain the out come of this campaign, but we agree with Dr. Subrahamanyam that Hamvira succeeded in defeating the armies of Vijayanagara in open battle but was unable to pierce through the defences of the Vijayanagara capital and ultimately retreated without fulfilling his main object.

Some portions of the Telugu-speaking region to the south of the river Krishna were under the control of the Vijayanagara emperor as is evidenced by the insciptions referring to him and found in this region but his hold on it seems to have been nominal as there are also evidences to show that the local chiefs like those of Bapatla and Narasaraopet were behaving like independent monarchs. The occupation of this region by Kapilendra from A.D. 1454 is proved by an inscription in which his officer Ganadeva appears as the *Pariksha* (Governor) of Kondavidu, Addanki and Vinukonda. Having conquered the entire region to the south of the river Krishna and making arrangement for its administration, the Orissan king next thought of acquiring further territories of the Vijayanagara empire. After the accession of Mallikarjuna the internal affairs of the empire became far from satisfactory. Saluva Narasimha the subordinate ruler of Chandragiri, was trying to capture the powers of the empire with an ultimate view to become emperor. Kapilendra must have studied the internal affairs of Vijayanagara and formulated his plans to conquer parts of it.

The first step in furtherance of his plans was the conquest of the Udayagiri fort which occupied a very strong and strategic position of the Vijayanagara empire in the coastal regions. The fort was conquered about A.D. 1460 by his lieutenant Tamma Bhupala, as an inscription dated A D. 1460 on the top of the Udayagiri hill recording the construction of a temple, clearly proves. After its conquest Basava Bhupala, son of Tamma Bhupala, was appointed as its Governor

The gradual conquest of the costal districts of the Vijayangara empire up to Tanjore and the south Arcot district by Kapilendra, is attested to by a number of inscriptions. In this task he was helped by

his valiant son Hamvira who was one of the ablest generals of his age. The epigraphic records show that Kapilendra was at Srisailam in A.D 1460, where he made gifts to the god on the occassion of a lunar eclipse, A *Jayastambha* (the pillar of victory) seems to have been set up in this region as is indicated by a fragmentary inscription of one of his lieutenants. It is stated in one Telugu work that Vira Saiva Pontiff of the *matha* at Srisailam offered resistence to the invading army, but his resistence was overcome by Madaya Linga, the Bellama chief, who had become a lieutenant of Kapilendra after his conquest of Devarakonda.

With Udayagiri as one of their bases the Gajapati armies under Hamvira made further incursions into the coastal regions of the Vijayanagara empire. Mallikarjuna appears to have tried his best to stem the tide of the invasion by transferring Saluva Narasimha, his subordinate ruler of the Chandragiri-*rajya* of Vijayanagara with that object. The result of this transfer was not, however favourable to Mallikarjuna Saluva Narasimha after becoming ths ruler of a central division with the capital at Vinukonda, became more powerfu and cherished the ambition of usurping the Vijayanagara throne. The defence of the Chandragiri-*rajya* also became weak after the transfer of its strong rular Saluva Narasimha. One inscription indicates that Mallikarjuna visited Vinukonda in A.D.1459 on '*rajakarya*' (state duties). This visit was probably intend to hold consultations with his officers for checking the advance of the Orissan army, but this attempt was not successful. After the transfer of Saluva Narasimha the defence of the Chandragiri-*rajya* seems to have been entrusted to Saluva Ramachandraraya, but he was unable to protect it against the Orissan invasion. Pusapati Tamma Bhupati, a lieutenant of Kapilendra, attacked the fort of Chandragiri and occupied it before A. D. 1464. Mallikarjuna appears to have made futher attempts to check the advance of the Oriya forces under Hamvira, but he met with no success. An inscription at Srirangam temple near Trichinapolli which records a gift of cows in A.D.1464 by 'Dakshina Kapilesvara Hamvira Kumara Mahapatra clearly proves that Orissan army had occupied that region. After the conquest of Tanjor and Trichinapolli regions Hamvira seems to have stopped his further incursions. After these conquests,the Orissan empire stretched from the river Ganges in north to the river Kaveri in the south. Kapilendra made arrangement for the administration of his southern conquests by appointing his grandson Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra as the viceroy of the conquered dominions in A. D. 1464.

The earlier view was that Kapilendra's conquest of the south was a mere raid, but this view has not been accepted by later scholars. Prof. R.D. Banerjee after examining all epigraphic records has come to a conclusion that a portion of the Vijayanagara empire up to the river Kaveri was under the occupation of Oriss a at least for ten years. but this seems to be an overestimation. By A.D.1470 when there was a civil war in Orissa for succession after the death of Kapilendra, the conquered territories of the south were lost to Orissa. So it is reasonable to conclude that the Tamil districts were under the occupation of Orissa for six to seven years. Several inscription of this region refer to the *Oddiyan* (Oriya) disturbances and state that in consequence of such disturbances, the repairs and worship of certain temples in this region had been neglected.

Certain controversial points connected with Kapilendra's conquests may now be considered. As stated earlier, Gangadhara, the court poet of Mallikarjuna, states that the king of Orissà and the Sultan of Bahamani made a combined effort to conquer the capital of Vijayanagara but the combined armies of both were defeated and driven out by the young emperor. This statement is now believed by scholars. Kapilendra had come into conflict with the Bahamani Sultan and so, the relation of both the king was far from cordial. The Orissan king also wanted to pose himself as the champion of the Hindu cause in Telingana. Sanjar Khan's capture of Hindu non-combatants with a view to sell them as slaves in Muslim kingdoms, must have embittered the feelings of the Hindus against the Muslims and Kapilendra must have taken advantage of their feelings to pose himself as the champion of Hinduism. An alliance with the Muslim Sultan of Bahamani with a view to conquer the capital of the Hindu Vijayanagara empire would not have been considered desirable in Kapilendra's own interest. We do not find any reference in any of the contemporary inscriptions that Kapilendra had allied himself with the Bahamani Sultan to attack the Vijayanagara capital. Gangadhara has evidently attempted to tarnish the image of Kapilendra in the eyes of the Hindus.

We have stated earlier that one of the causes of the retreat of the Hindu army under the command of Kapilendra from the gates of Bidar, was the threatened invasion of Orissa from the north by Sultan Mahmud Shah Sharqi of Jaunpur. It is not known whether the threatened invasion ever took place. We do not find any evidence whatsoever from any Hindu source about this invasion. But Nizam-ud-Din Ahmad states that the Sharqi Sultan collected an army of three lakhs of horse men and fourteen hundred

elephants and advanced towards the country of Orissa. The author of *Tabaqat-i-Akabari* claims that the Sultan invaded Orissa and forced the Orissan king to couclude a humiliating treaty by offering thirty elephants, one hundred horses and several other goods by way of tribute. This claim of the Muslim sources has not been accepted by the modern scholars. There was indeed a threatened invasion of Orissa by the Sharqi Sultan, but it is doubtful whether Kapilendra, the most powerful king of south-eastern India of the time, so easily submitted to a distant northern power and concluded a humiliating treaty.

There are references in the Orissan epigraphs about Kapilendra's conflict with Malwa and Delhi. Such references are to be found in the Gopinathapura Inscription of his own time and also in a copper plate grant of his grandson Prataparudradeve. Some scholars have completely ruled out the possibilities of such conflicts with the distant monarchs of Malwa and Delhi. It is not however improbable that Kapilendra came into confict with them in alliance with the Muslim powers of Bahamani and Jaunpur. During his reign the Sultans of the Bahamani kingdom were at war with the Sultans of Malwa and the Sharqi Sultan was at war with the Delhi Sultan In these wars of the Muslim powers Kapilendra might have taken a part by furnishing troops to the Sultans of Bahamani and Jaunpur, and this part taken by him has been exaggerated in the Orissan records as his invasions of Malwa and Delhi.

By A.D. 1464 Kapilendra had become the master of an empire stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Trichinapolli in the south along the coast, and we find from the epigraphic records that he had assumed the proud titles *Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavar-gesvara*. Each of these titles had a special significance. The title *Gajapati*, as observed earliar, was also borne by some Later Ganga kings and Kapilendra bore it as a successor of the Gangas by usurpation. He conquered a part of Gauda (Bengal) and was therefore justified in bearing the title *Gaudesvara*. His conquest of a part of the Bahamani kingdom and his expeditions to Bidar gave him the title of *Kalavargesvara*. It may be noted that the name of the earlier capital of the Bahamani kingdom was Gulbarga from which the word Kalavarga was an Oriya corruption. After conquering parts of the Vijayanagara empire he assumed the title *Navakoti Karnata* (*Isvara*). In his time the Vijayanagara empire was also known as Karnata. *Navakoti* (nine crores) seem to refer to the total population of the part of Bahamani and Vijayanagara, which he conquered.

Last part of Kapilendra's Reign :

The last part of Kapilendra's life was not happy. One of his inscriptions in the Jagannatha temple at Puri dated A.D.1464, states that he had been forsaken by his former soldiers and servants. Therefore, he entreats Lord Jagannatha to allow him to treat them as they deserve. It is stated in the *Madalapanji* that Kapilendra suppressed a rebellion at Kondajori, which Dr. Subrahmanyam tekes to be an Oriya form of the river Krishna. It may be noted that in Oriya *jori* means a river. Dr. Suhrahmanyam further supposes that there was a combined revolt of Hamvira and his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra against the emperor and this revolt was the result of Kapilendra's nomination of Purushottamadeva as his successor. It is very likely that Kapilendra had several sons and some copies of the *Madalapanji* state that he had as many as eighteen sons. The *Mukhalingam Kaifiyat* says that Purushottama was the youngest son of his father. We are unable to determine the order of seniority of Kapilendra's sons, but our sources give us a correct impression and information that Hamvira was the ablest of them and it is he who helped his father in his southern conquests. The Warangal Fort Inscription dated A.D.1460, furnishes us with the definite information that Hamvira was the son of Kapilendra, but it does not tell us whether he was the eldest son. In the inscriptions of Purushottama and Prataparudra Hamvira does not find mention as the son of Kapilendra. So it will always remain a disputed point whether Hamvira or his brother Purshottama was entitled to the throne according to the law of primogeniture. Purushottama's name does not appear in the records prior to his reign, but we have seen that Hamvira appears in several of them. It is he who captured the fort of Warangal and also led the Orissan army to the very gate of the Vijayanagara capital. As already observed, his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra had become the viceroy of the conquered territories of his grandfather in the south by A.D.1464. This grandson of Kapilendra must have been sufficiently old when he assumed such a great responsiblity and his father would have been about fifty years old.

In the light of these evidences it appears that Hamvira was elder brother of Purushottama. The latter was at the capital and he seems to have enjoyed the confidence of the standing army and the high officers of the state. It is stated in the *Madalapanji* that Kapilendra, unable to nominate any of his sons as his successor, prayed to Lord Jagannatha and Lord Jagannatha told him in a dream to chose Purushottama as the next king. Lord Jagannatha's will expressed in dreams, was a clever

means of propaganda adopted by the new kings and their supporters. We have seen that it was given out by Kapilendra and his supporters that Lord Jagannatha had nominated him as the successor of Bhanudeva IV. These stories cannot be believed, but they point to the fact that the kings who created such stories, had no legal claim to the throne.

From the above circumstances it appears that Purushottama was not eldest son of his father. It is ststed in the *Madalapanji* that his father crowned him on the banks of the river Krishna. This suggests that Purushottama and his father had proceeded to the south to suppress the revolt raised by Hamvira and his son. Kapilendra seems th have hastily arranged the coronation of Purushottama at such a distant place, but not in his capital at Cuttack, Puri or Bhubaneswar, which were the usual places where the previous Orissan kings were crowned.

We may believe the information furnished by the *Madalapanji* that after Purushottama had become king, Hamvira by forced marches came from the south with an army and reached the Gajapati capital, Cuttack. Purushottama first shut himself up in the fort, but eventually there was a great battle between the two brothers, in which Hamvira was completely defeatad and was forced to flee to the south. The *Madalapanji* does not tell us whether this fight took place immediately after the succession of Purushottama or at a later date, but such a fight seems to have been an inevitable consequence of the disputed succession.

Towards the close of his reign Kapilendra suffered from the loss of territories both in the north and south of his empire. In the north Ruknuddin Barbak (1459-1474), the Sultan of Bengal seems to have reconqured the fort of Mandaran in the Orissan frontier. This is evident from the biographical account of a popular saint of north Bengal named Shah Ismail Ghazi, given in the work entitled *Risalatus-Shuhada* compiled in 1633 by one Pir Muhammud Shattari. The work is a very late one and it refers to the traditional account of the reoccupation of Mandaran by Ruknuddin Barbak. We have seen that in the early part of Kapilendra's reign he conqured a part of Bengal extending up to Mandaran in the Arambag subdivision of the Hooghly district. Satganw and Triveni were also in the possession of the Orissan king. There were always border clashes between the Hindu and the Muslims in this area and Satganw seems to have changed hands several times. It may be recalled that since the time of Chodaganga who

conquered this area first, the Orissan kings, when they felt strong, wanted to recapture this territory from the Muslims of Bengal. In the subsequent periods Narasimhadeva I and Kapilendradeva reconquered it. Towards the close of the reign of the latter it was lost to Orissa. The above mentioned Muslim chronicle furnishes the evidence that the Oriyas were driven out from Mandaran and it was reoccupied by the forces of Bengal. Neither the date nor the details of the campaign have been given in this work, but its reoccupation by the Muslims has been accepted as a historical fact by historians (The *History of Bengal, Muslim Period*, pp. 132-33). There is a large gate, south of Mandaran, which is known as Uriya Mardana, which indicates that the Oriya army stationed in this fort were defeated at the southern gate. The Muslim chronicle tells us that the king of Orissa was captured but this has not been believed by any scholar. It was perhaps the commandant of the fort who was captured by the Muslim forces.

In the south Kapilendra started losing territories towards the end of his life Saluva Narasimha who had been transferred to Vinukonda, was again put back in the Chandragiri *rajya* as its subordinate ruler under Virupaksha, the successor of Mallikarjuna. Virupaksha too was a very weak king like his predecessor and the powers of the empire were virtually captured by Saluva Narasimha. As the first step of his aggrandisement he started the systematic expulsion of the Oriyas from the occupied Tamil districts. From the village Munnur we find two inscriptions, one of Dakshina Kapilesvara Kumara Mahapatra, dated A.D. 1464 and another of Saluva Narasimha, dated A.D. 1466. In the latter inscription Saluva Narasimha has been described as the ruler of Chandragiri, conclusively proving that the Saluva chief had driven out the Oriyas from this region by A.D.1466. The *Saluvabhyudayam*, a Sanskrit work, which describes the achievements of Saluva Narasimha tells us that after the accession to the Governorship of Chandragiri his first work was to wage a war against Kalinga (Orissa). From these evidences it is apparent that even before the death of Kapilendra his empire suffered mutilation in the south.

The loss of territories and the quarrel among his sons for succession would have told upon the health of the war-worn aged emperor and so he seems to have hastily arranged for the transfer of royalty even before his death. we find epigraphic evidences that his son Purushottamadeva started his reign from 1467, but this does not mean that his father had died by that date. There is a controversy among the scholars about the exact date of Kapilendra's death. Prof. R.D. Banerjee puts it in 1470

on the strength of the evidence furnished by the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* that the death of "the Ray of Orissa who was the principal Ray of Telengana" was received in the court of Bidar in A.D. 1470. But the death news of Kapilendra received by the Bahamani Sultan in 1470 does not preclude the possibility that he had died earlier Dr. R. Subrahmanyam puts the first regnal year of Purushottamadeva in A. D. 1465-66 which may be taken as correct so far as the beginning of his reign is concerned, but it does not furnish us with the sure evidence that Kapilendra had died by that time. It is a fact that Kapilendra had crowned his son Purushottamadeva while he was alive. So, the exact date of the death of Kapilendra cannot be determined but it must have taken place before 1470 when the news of his death was received in the court of Bidar.

An Estimate of Kapilendra's Achievements :

It has been stated earlier that the family in which Kapilendra was born, has been described in the inscriptions as *Suryavamsa* or the Solar dynasty, a legendary origin claimed by many a ruling family of ancient and medieval India, but in fact he was a man of humble origin holding a rank of some importance in the Ganga army, when he effected a violent change of the regime. We have also stated earlier that Kapilendra was a native of Orissa, and the founders of the previous Ganga and Somavamsi dynasties had all come from outside. So, after centuries an Oriya ruled his own people giving them a sense of pride and self-respect, hopes and aspirations, leading them to battle fields for his extensive conquests and opening to them a new geographical horizon. Kapilendra is only next to Kharavela in building up an Orissan empire. As a general he became unsurpassed in his age. His abilities endeared him to the people and the soldiers of Orissa. He enlisted the support of the people by making Orissa a strong military state in which the protection and the extension of the kingdom came to be a joint responsibility of the ruler and the ruled. Militarism penetrated into all ranks of people irrespective of their castes and all the castes bore military titles which are numerous in Orissa even today. A love for Orissa and for its language and literature become the order of Kapilendra s reign, and inspired by this new idealism Sarala Dasa, a Sudra by caste, created the first and the vast Oriya literature which, in its quality, contents and bulk, is still considered to be the greatest single Oriya literature. Thus during the rule of Kapilendra a new age of renaissance started in Orissa.

After centuries Kapilendra brought Orissa into the arena of all-India politics and broke her isolation. His contemporaries Nasir-ud-din,

Humayun Shah Bahamani, Saluva Narasimha and Mallikarjuna were all out-generalled and defeated by him. In consequence he succeeded in building up a far-flung empire stretching from the river Hooghly in the north to the river Kaveri in the south. This was no mean achievement of a man who made his way to the throne from a humble position. The distant monarchs like those of Jaunpur, Delhi and Malwa felt the weight of his powers. From his reign Orissa become the standard-bearer of Hindu culture and she maintained this position in the reigns of his son and grandson also. As observed earlier, Kapilendra enlisted the sympathy of the non-Oriya Hindus by siding with them against the aggression of the Muslims. This was certainly one of the causes of his success in Bengal and Telingana where he conquered territories from the Muslims. We are unable, to believe that Kapilendra or his son or grandson Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra had ever neglected the repairs and the worship in certain Hindu temples of the Tamil districts, as some South Indian Inscriptions of his reign indicate. It has been stated in such inscriptions that on account of the Oddiyan *Galabhai* (disturbances of the Oriyas) the repairs of some temples had been neglected and the worship in such temples had been kept in abeyance. This information is strongly contradicted by the Srirangam Temple Inscription wherein it is stated that Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra donated cows for the maintenance of a perpetual lamp in the temple. It is also contradicted by the information obtained from another South Indian inscription that this prince made arrangement for *Hamvira-bhoga* in a particular temple, no doubt for the success of his father Hamvira.

It has generally been stated by some scholars that though Kapilendra was a great general, he lacked statesmanship. They say that Kapilendra should have concentrated his powers and energies in fighting with the Muslim power of Bengal which was a real menace to the security of the Hindu kingdom of Orissa. It is also stated that Kapilendra should not have involved himself in a war against the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagara. They hold that, because of Kapilendra's aggression against Vijayanagara, the kings of this country became the hereditary enemies of the Orissan king and in the reign of Krishnadeva Ray this enmity was responsible for the disintegration of the Orissan empire. This criticism about the character and achievements of Kapilendra may be partially true. It may, however, be remembered that an all India conception of Hinduism was alien to the age in which Kapilendra lived. The kingdom of Vijayanagara grew up into an empire mainly at the expense of the neighbouring Hindu kingdoms. Devaraya II,

the king of Vijayanagara, first gave offence to the Oriya Hindus by seizing a part of their kingdom in the southern frontier. Kapilendra was a creature of his age and he is not to be blamed if he had not the higher conception of an all-India Hindu policy. Kapilendra was, without doubt, one of the greatest kings of his age in India.

Purushottamadeva (A.D. 1467-1497)

As stated earlier, there is no evidence to show that Purushottama was the eldest son of Kapilendra. Hamvira who occupied a pre-eminent position among the sons of his father by virtue of his outstanding abilities and the war-like qualities, which were the pre-requisite qualifications for rulership during this age, should have become the successor of his father. But his claim to the throne seems to have been set aside through machinations at the capital. The revolt of Hamvira aided by his son, would have been the result of his father's partiality towards Purushottama. As observed earlier, there is absolutely no evidence that Purushottama ever helped his father in any of his campaigns through which he created his empire, but yet this prince was chosen as the successor to the throne. It is not known definitely whether Hamvira revolted against his father before or after his father's nomination of Purushottama, but it is most probable that he revolted when his claim to the throne was set aside. Purushottama seems to have been the favourite son of his father through the influence of his mother whose legal position among the wives of Kapilendra has been a matter of discussion among the historians. The evidences that we get from all sources about her position, point to the fact that she was not a queen of Kapilendra, much less his chief queen. The evidence provided by the *Rajavamsavali* of the former Bamanda state, cited by Dr. Subrahmanyam, represent Purushottama as a *bhogini-nandana* (son of a mistress). Mr. Mukherjee thinks that Purushottama's mother was a *phula-vivahi* wife of Kapilendra. A class of wives of the rulers of Orissa occupied an intermediate position between concubines and queens. The *phula-vivahi* occupied the intermediate position. Purushottama's mother seems to have occupied this positions. Ferishta writing about the events of Orissa observes that "Mangula Ray, a brahman and adopted son of the late king was ruling Orissa in A. D. 1470-71". Mangula Ray was probably the real name of Purushottama and after his accession to the throne he bore the second name. He was not the adopted son of Kapilendra as Ferishta's account represents him to be.

It will appear from the above discussion that he was the son of a *Phula-vivahi* wife of Kapilendra. Ferishta represents him as a brahman most probably on account of the fact that his mother was a brahmani. The Anantavaram Plates of Purshottama's son Prataparudra represents him as the son of Kapilendra, but they leave us in doubt whether he was the legitimate son of his father. The *Sarasvativilasam*, composed by Prataparudra, describes his father as the son of Kapilendra by Parvati, but adds nothing more about the status of Parvati among the wives of his grandfather.

Whatever may be the truth about the legitimate claim of Purushottama to the throne, two factors went greatly in his favour. He was nominated as successor by his father and it was also given out that Lord Jagannatha had commanded Kapilendra in a dream to chose Purushottama as his successor. The people of Orissa greately believed in the divine dispension of Lord Jagannatha, who had been conceived as the real king of Orissa since the days of the Gangas. In the beginning part of his reign Purushottama propitiated the brahmins by abolishing *chaukidari* tax on them and by renewing the old grants, as is evidenced by one of his inscriptions in the Jagannatha temple. Having thus received the favour of his father, the divine dispension of Lord Jagannatha and the sympathy of the brahmins, Purushottama strengthened his position in Orissa so firmly that his rival Hamvira could not oust him from it.

Troubles in the Early Part of His Reign:

The troubles in the early part of his reign were mostly due to his two great rivals, *viz* his brother Hamvira and Saluva Narasimha. The latter had become by this time the virtual ruler of Vijayanagara, even though officially he was a subordinate ruler under it. As observed earlier, his first and foremost task was to drive out the Oriyas from the southern districts. In this attempt he was greatly successful. Hamvira and his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra could hold the southern possessions of Kapilendra because of a constant supply of men and materials from the capital of Orissa, but after the occupation of the throne by Purushottama this supply must have been stopped because of the rivalry between the two brothers. Hamvira thus found his position untenable in the south and Saluva threatened the position of the Oriyas and pushed them northwards. The *Saluvabhyudayam*, a Sanskrit work, which describes the exploits of Saluva Narasimha, states that he led a campaign against Kalinga (Orissa)

and during this campaign the king of Orissa, after being defeated, shut himself up in a fort, which Dr. Subrahmanyam identifies with the fort of Udayagiri. The *Jaimini Bharatam*, another literary work, credits Narasimha with a victory over the king of Oddi (Orissa). Another literary work, *Varaha Puranam*, states that Isvara Nayak, a general of Saluva, captured Udayagiri. Prof. R.D. Banerjee does not believe the evidences furnished by these literary sources about the discomfiture of Orissa in the early part of Purushottama's reign, but we accept these evidences in the light of the fact that the rivalry between Purushottama and Hamvira had greatly undermined the position of Orissa in the south and due to the lack of co-ordination between the capital and the southern part of the empire, the position of the Oriyas in the south had become untenable.

Having been pressed from the north by his brother and from the south by Saluva Narasimha, Hamvira was compelled to seek the assistance of the Bahamani king Muhammad Shah III. Ferishta and Sayyid Ali furnish us with an account of the assistance which he received from the Sultan. It is stated that the Sultan evinced a great interest in the affairs of Orissa when Ambur Ray (Hamvira Ray) represented his case to him for the throne of Orissa, because of the fact that Muhammad also wanted to wrest from Orissa the provinces of Rajahmundry and Kondavidu. He sent Nizam-ul-Moolk to help the Orissan prince against his brother Purushottama. The combined armies of Hamvira and Nizam-ul-Moolk succeded in capturing Kondapalli and Rajahmundry and after making administrative arrangements for the security of both, they proceeded to the Orissan capital Cuttack. Purushottama was defeated and Hamvira placed in the posession of his hereditary dominions. In broad outlines both the Muslim sources agree, but in some details they differ. The dates assigned to these events do not tally, the names of the forts captured by Nizam-ul-Moolk and Hamvira also differ, but Dr. Subrahmanyam concluded on these evidences recived from the Muslim sources, that Purushottama was ousted from the throne and Hamvira was placed on it. Dr. Subrahmanyam strengthens his conclusion by giving another ground that from A.D. 1472 to A.D. 1476 no inscription of Purushottama is to be traced in any part of Orissa. According to him this is an indication that Purushottama had been ousted from the throne during these years.

Prof R.D. Banerjee does not accept the Muslim version that Hamvira had been installed on the Orissan throne with the assistance of the Bahamani Sultan. He says that Ferishta's account of the Orissan

wars of the Bahamani Sultan bears on it the stamp of untruth. We are inclined to accept Prof. Banerjee's view. The Muslim accounts of the dramatic change of the rulers in Orissa are not supported by any other source. The mere fact that we do not find Purushottama's inscriptions in any part of Orissa for the above-mentioned period, does not give us the sure evidence that he had been ousted from the throne for that period. If Hamvira had occupied the throne for this short period, some evidence in the shape of inscriptions or traditions would have been available to us. But there is absolutely no evidence from any other source that Hamvire had become king for a short period. Dr. Subrahmanyam maintains that Hamvira drove away his brother to forests and occupied the throne, but he could not maintain his position in Orissa when he ceased to receive any assistance from the Bahamani Sultan on account of a great famine then raging in the Bahamani kingdom. Dr. Subrahmanyam's supposition does not seem to be correct. If Hamvira had become the master of Orissa, he could have held his position with the help of his own resources. It is also not clear from Dr. Subrahmanyam's supposition how Purushottama, who had been driven away to forests, could regain the throne without armies or resources

Dr. Subrahmanyam's reliance on the evidence of the *Sarasvativilasam* is also unacceptable. In this work it is stated that Purushottama succeeded in bringing his rival Hamvira to his knees. Purushottama had actually defeated his brother and forced him to submit. This fact has found mention in an usual exaggerated form in the above mentioned Sanskrit work. It does not furnish us with any evidence that Hamvira had ousted Purushottama from the throne and the latter ragained it by defeating the former. Mr. G. Ramadas also questions the truth of the accounts of the Muslim chroniclers about the fact that the Bahamani Sultan installed Hamvira on the throne. He condemns the Muslim accounts as myths. The main point to be considered in this connection is that we do not find any information whatsoever from any other source except from the Muslim sources, regarding the installation of Hamvira on the Orissan throne. We, therefore, agree with Prof. R.D. Banerjee and Mr. G. Ramadas that the Muslim accounts are unreliable.

Purushottama's Attempts to Recover the Lost Territories :

We have stated earlier that Saluva Narasimha had started the the expulsion of the Oriyas from the southern districts since A.D. 1467. By A.D. 1475 he gradually extended his power along the coast towards the north and reached Musulipatam with the ultimate aim of putting an end to

the Gajapati empire and also of regaining the Krishna-Godavari delta which once belonged to Vijayanagara. He found Kondavidu and Rajahmundry already occupied by the Bahamani Sultan and their reoccupation would mean a war with the Sultan. He started instigating the Hindu chiefs of this region against the Bahamani king as the first measure for the preparation of a war against the Muslim power.

During this period a great famine was raging in the Bahamani kingdom and both the army and the people were suffering terribly. According to Ferishta the Bahamani garrision stationed at Kondapalli, revolted against the Muslim Governor of the fort, and killed him, and then they made Hamvira the Governor of the fort. Notwithstanding the fact that Hamvira was already in the camp of the Bahamani Sultan, he sent secret messages to his brother Purushottama to give him aid against the Bahamani Sultan for maintaining his position in the fort, and for the recovory of the southern territories of Orissa. The only condition which Hamvira attached to his request, was that after the recovery of the territories they should be shared by both.

Purushottama readily accepted the proposal sent by his brother. The great famine in the Bahamani kingdom, the mutinous conduct of the Bahamani army, and the readiness of the Jamindars of Telingana to assist him in a war against the Sultan, provided an excellent opportunity to him. He proceeded at the head of an army towards the south. An inscription at Simhachalam dated A.D. 1476 proves that he was on his way to Rajahmundry and had reachad that place, where he made offerings to god Narasimha, no doubt for the success of his arms Ferishta's accounts read with those of the *Burhan-i-Ma'asir* indicate that there was an Oriya invasion of the south-eastern portion of the Bahamani kingdom in A.D. 1476 or A.D. 1477 and in consequence the Bahamani Sultan lost both Rajahmundry and Kondavidu provinces.

When the Oriya forces were reconquering the Krishna-Godavari delta, Saluva Narasimha was marching northwards with an army and appears to have reached Rajahmundry. In fact there seems to have been a simultaneous attempt both from the south and the north for the conquest of the Krishna-Godavari delta. Had both the Hindu powers combined and presented an united fornt against the Muslim kingdom of Bahamani, its position would have been precarious, but both the Hindu powers worked for cross-purpose and this provided an opportunity to the Bahamani Sultan to defeat the Orissan army and to recapture Rajahmundry and Kondavidu.

On hearing the approach of Purushottama and his siege of Rajahmundry, Muhammad Shah III speedily collected a great army and proceeded to oppose him. According to the Muslim sources, at the approach of the Muslim army the Hindu army left Rajahmundry and retreated towards their country. The fort was occupied by the Sultan and then he pursued the Orissan army far into their territories and forced Purushottama to conclude a treaty, as a result of which the Bahamani king recovered his territories and received twenty-five elephants from him. This account has not been accepted by historians. Prof. R.D. Banerjee comments on the treaty as follows:

'It is necessary to receive these statements of Ferishta with very great caution. In the first place, if Muhammad III had really retired from the capital of Orissa after receiving twenty-five elephants, then it is to be admitted that he was compelled to turn tail by a superior force. No victorious Musalman army had ever let off a defeated Hindu king at such a small cost. Ferishta's story reminds one of the retreat of Seleukos Nikatar from India with a present of five hundred elephants from Chandragupta Maurya after ceding four of the fairest provinces of Alexander's empire to the Indian monarch. As soon as he received twenty-five elephants, Muhammad's intention to occupy Orissa permanently vanishes. No indemnity or permanent cession of territory is demanded and the Musalman king retires with his so-called victorious army. This story is accepted without any caution by Sir Wolsely Haig who adds that Muhammad captured Kondavidu and made Rajahmundry his headquarters for three years."

The truth seem to be that Purushottama could not retain his hold on Rajahmundry and retreated towards his own kingdom when he heard of the approach of the Sultan's army. The Sultan's pursuit of the Orissan army, his raids far into their territories and Purushottama's treaty with him by presenting him only twenty-five elephants, do not appear to have been based on truth We have stated earlier that Saluva Narasimha was camping with a great army on the banks of the Godavari when there was a conflict between the Orissan forces and the Bahamani forces, but yet he did not join either of the parties. The main causes of his inaction were that he considered both Purushottama and Muhammad Shah III as his enemies and wanted that they should weaken themselves by mutual fights. The occupation of the Krishna-Godavari delta was his smaller ambition, his main ambition being the occupation of the Vijayanagara throne. He retreated towards his kingdom without engaging his forces in

battle. He remaind awaiting an opportune time when he could fulfil his ambition of occupying the Krishhna-Godavari delta.

Purushottama's attempts to recover the territories of his father thus proved abortive and he, like Saluva Narasimha, remained awaiting a favourable opportunity to recover the Krishna-Godavari delta. Muhammad III placed Muslim Governors at both Rajahmundry and Kondavidu.

After driving out the Oriya forces from the coastal region, Muhammad III started a war against Saluva Narasimha. There was a revolt at Kondavidu in A.D. 1480 and the rebels sought the help of Narasimha against the Bahamani Sultan. The rebels were supressed but this provided a cause for the Sultan to start a war against the Saluva king. The second cause of the war was that Saluva Narasimha was systematically instigating the Hindu chiefs of Telingana against the Sultan. The Muslim chroniclers inform us that the Sultan raided up to Kanchi in A.D. 1481 and then returned to his camp Malur. While he was camping at this place, Nizam-ul-Moolk Hasan Bahri forged a letter purporting to have been written by Mahmud Gawan, the general and the adviser of the Sultan, to the Orissan king Purushottama, in which the former was supposed to have sought help from the latter against the Sultan. Without investigating into the truth of the allegation, the Sultan in a fit of anger acted upon the forged letter and ordered the immediate execution of Mahmud Gawan. Historians are of the opinion that with his death wisdom departed from the Bahamani kingdom, The Bahamani king realised that he had committed a great blunder by ordering the execution of his most experienced and trusted servant. Soon after his execution the disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom started and although Muhammad III wanted to arrest the process of the disintegration, he faild. Amidst difficulties and disappointments the Sultan died in A.D. 1482 and was succeeded by his imbecile son Mahmud, only twelve years old.

Purushottama's Recovery of the Southern Territories:

In the court of Bidar the party factions between the foreigners and the Deccanis were accentuated soon after the accession of Mahmud Shah and their dissnsions both in the army and the administration hastened the disintegration of the Bahamani kingdom. Purushottama had now no fear of an attack from the Bahamani kingdom, and this provided him an opportunity to try again to regain his lost territories in the south. Sometimes before A.D. 1484 he proceeded towards the south and conquered the whole territory including Rajahmundry and Kondavidu. The details of his campaigns are not available, but that he occupied the whole coastal region up to Kondavidu, is proved by an inscription

dated A.D. 1484, in which one of his generals made a gift of the village Mutukumilli situated in the Vinukonda taluk of the Guntur district for the success of his master Purushottamadeva on the occassion of a lunar eclipse. By A. D. 1484 Purushottama must have driven out the Bahamani garrisons and officers both from Rajahmundry and Kondavidu which is only thirteen miles from Guntur. Some of the accounts of Ferishta, however, create an impression that the Bahamani king was in the possession of the Rajahmundry even after this date but these accounts, as Dr. Subrahmanyam observes, are confused, and do not seem to have been based on truth. Purushottama could not have become the master of Kondavidu without becoming the master of Rajahmundry.

Having occupied the entire Krishna-Godavari delta, Purushottama next turned his attention towards the recovery of the southern districts from Saluva Narasimha, who had by this time strengthend his position in Udayagiri-*rajya*. Purushottama gained the sympathy of the people by abolishing taxes on marriages in the occupied areas, and next proceeded against Udayagiri.

It will be recalled that Kapilendra, after conquering the fort of Udayagiri, situated in the Nellore district, had entrusted it to Pusapati Basavabhupala, son of Tamma, who had helped him in conquering it. But when Purushottama lost his southern territories to Saluva Narasimha, Basavabhupala was forced to accept the overlordship of Saluva. He however seems to have again helped the Orissan king when he approached Udayagiri with an army. The date of the conquest of the fort is not definitely known, but it must have taken place before Saluva Narasimha's death in A.D. 1490 Udayagiri remained under the occupation of the Oriyas till A.D 1513 when Krishnadeva Raya reconqured it. In reoccupying this fort Purushottama was greatly helped by Basavabhupala as is proved by the *Prabodhachandrodaya* a Sanskrit epic, which refers to the conquest of Udayasila (Udayagiri) by Vira Basava; evidently for the Gajapati Basava seems to have been made the Governor of the fort by Purushottama; whose dominions again extended far into the south up to the Nellore district.

The Tradition of Kanchi-Kaveri :

Orissan traditions persistently refer to the conquest of Kanchi by Purushottama. Although they differ in deteils, the main story as presented by them, is as follows :

Purushottama wanted to marry the daughter of the king of Kanchi, but the latter refused to give his daughter in marriage to a king who performed the menial duty of a sweeper on the occassion of the Car Festival of Lord Jagannatha every year. The Orissan king took it to be an insult to both Lord Jagannatha and himself and promised to capture the Kanchi princess Padmavati or Padmini by force. Accordingly, he led two expeditions to Kanchi, but the first one proved to be a failure. Then he propitiated Lord Jagannatha who promised in a dream to help him in the war It is stated that in his second expedition Lord Jagannatha and his brother Balabhadra proceeded ahead to Kanchi in the guise of two horsemen and, therefore, the second expedition of his devotee and the servant Purushottama proved successful. The king succeeded in capturing Padmini or Padmavati and bringing her down to Orissa. To avenge the insult hurled at Lord Jagannatha he wanted to give her in marriage to a sweeper, but his clever minister saved the situation by presenting her to him when he was doing the duty of a sweeper at the time of the Car Festival at Puri. The king then agreed to marry her and the incident thus ended in comedy.

The story with some variations occurs in the *Madalapanji* and a work named *Kanchi-Kaveri*. It also migrated to Assam and Koraput in Orissa, where the stories on the lines of the Kanchi-Kaveri traditions of Orissa can be traced.The stucco sculptural representations of Lord Jagannatha and his brother Balabhadra in the guise of horsemen proceeding ahead to Kanchi, are to be found on the wall of the *Jagamohana* of the Jagannatha temple at Puri. These representations have been referred to in the *Vedhaparikrama*, an Oriya work by Balarama Dasa, a contemporary of Purushottama's son and successor Prataparudra, and therefore cannot be taken to be later creations. The work was meant as pilgrims' guide and it states that "After visiting this you will find the representations of the two brothers galloping valiantly towards Kanchi, on the wall of the *Jagamohana*." The two brothers are, without doubt, Jagannatha and Balabhadra.

It is also stated in the above story that Purushottama brought from Kanchi an image of Ganesa, an image of Sakshigopala now to be found in the temple of Sakhigopala in the Puri district, and a jewelled throne which is identified with the present *Ratna Simhasana* on which the images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra are now installed. The identification of these objects has been a matter of controversy. In the *Chaitanyacharitamrita* of Krishnadasa Kaviraja it is stated that the

image of Sakshigopala was brought by Purushottama from Vidyanagara. It may be noted that the capital of Vijayanagara and also Rajahmundry were both known as Vidyanagara. In the Gaudiya Vaishnava literature Vidyanagara always meant present Rajahmundry which is sometimes mentioned as Mahendradesa or Mahendranagara Not only in the above literature, but also in the Oriya *Mahabharata* by Sarala Dasa the present Rajahmundry is described as both Vidyanagara and Mahendranagara. Most of the scholars discussing the story now think that the image of Sakshigopala was brought by Purushottama not from the Vijayanagara capital but from Rajahmundry. He never conquered Vidyanagara, the capital of Vijayanagara. There is still an image of Ganesa in the compound of the Jagannatha temple which is taken to have been brought by Purushottama from Kanchi. The jewelled throne, as already observed still serves as the pedestal of Lord Jagannatha.

Prof. R, D. Banerjee considers the story as a mere romance, but Dr. Subrahmanyam and Mr. Mukherjee recognize its historicity. It may be pointed out that a historical tradition in course of time gathers round it a lot of embellishments and for that matter its historicity is not completely rejected. The Kanchi-Kaveri tradition should not be rejected as completely unhistorical. All scholars have identified the Kanchi king of the tradition with Saluva Narasimha who was a contemporary of Purushottama. There are ample historical evidences that there were wars between the two kings. The name of the capital of Saluva Narasimha was not Kanchi, but Chandragiri, but the former was the most sacred and important place of his kingdom. Kanchi was the capital of the famous Pallava dynasty and as such, had become famous as a poltical and cultural centre. We may mention in this connection that Kapilendra actually invaded Bidar, the new capital of the Bahamani kingdom, but in the Orissan inscriptions he has been represented as Kalavargesvara. Kalavarga has been identified with Gulbarga, the old capital of the Bahamani kingdom by all scholars. In a similar manner Kanchi has taken the place of Chandragiri in the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition.

In the *Sarasvativilasam* the name of the mother of Prataparudra, son and successor of Purushottama, appears as Rupamvika. We know from the southern sources that the name of Saluva Narasimha's mother was Mallamvika and his wife's name was Tippamvika. It is not unlikely that the original name of Saluva Narasimha's daughter was Rupamvika which was changed into Padmini or Padmavati after Purushottama's

marriage with her. The custom of changing the name of the bride after marriage, was prevalent in Orissa and in other parts of India. The name of Prataparudra's daughter was changed into Tukka after her marriage with Krishnadeva Raya. So, it is not surprising that in the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition the original nama Rupamvika appears as Padmini or Padmavati.

Purushottama's marriage with the daughter of Saluva Narasimha has not been referred to in any of the contemporary records of the south The marriage of Prataparudra's daughter does not also find mention in any of the Orissan documents, even though it was a historical fact. Political marriages under compelling circumstances were being considered as disgraces to the king and the country and therefore, no references were made to such marriages in the records of the countries concerned. So, it is not surprising that we do not find any evidence of Purushottama's marriage with Saluva's daughter in any southern record

The date of the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition, which resulted in the marriage of Padmavati by Purushottama, has been a matter of controversy. Mr. P. Mukherji thinks that it took place in A. D. 1469 in the early parts of Purushottama's reign. This does not appear to be improbable though Purushottama's expedition to Kanchi at this stage of his reign is not attested to by inscriptions. The expedition seems to have been a dashing raid and, therefore, no record is available of it. Rupamvika's (Padmavati's) son Prataparudra succeeded his father in A. D. 1497 when he was sufficiently old. If we identify Purushottama's queen Rupamvika with the daughter of Saluva Narasimha, we should presume that the marriage had taken place in the early part of his reign and not in the later part when he defeated the Saluva king and humiliated him by capturing Udayagiri.

The *Madalapanji* states that Kapilendra invaded Kondameru shortly before his death and brought Chandravati Dei as prisoner. Kond meru can be identified with Kondavidu and Chandravati with Padmavati of the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition. If these identification are acceptable, then it has to be admitted that the marriage of Purushottama with Saluva Narasimha's daughter would have taken place before the death of Kapilendra. Before his death he had actually led an expedition to the south to supress the revolt of his son Hamvira, in course of which he might have also reconquered Kondavidu and defeated Saluva.

Narasimha who seems to have been in league with his son, and forced him to give his daughter in marriage to Purushottama. The peculiar circumstances under which the marriage was performad appears to have given rise to the romantic story of the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition.

Although we accept the historicity of the tradition, we do not accept the supernatural and romantic elements that have got into it. All that we intend to say is that Purushottama married the daughter of Saluva Narasimha under peculiar and pressing circumstances and the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition is based on this historical fact.

Last days of Hamvira : This valiant son of Kapilendra had taken a great part in building up an empire for his father, but he appears as a tragic figure in Orissan history. We have already stated that through machinations he was deprived of inheriting any part of his father's empire. The circumstances under which he revolted against his father are not known to us, but it seems that his father's partiality towards his brother Purushottama was the cause of this revolt, or else there is no evidence to show that at any time he had disregarded his father's wishes. On the other hand, we find evidences to show that he was the most obedient son of his father. We find absolutely no evidence that Purushottama had ever taken part in any of the wars through which Kapilendra built up an empire, but yet this son inherited his vast kingdom and was reluctant even to share it with his valiant brother Hamvira. This led to a war of succession in which Hamvira was defeated and was forced to seek the help of the Bahamani Sultan, Even when he was in the camp of the Sultan, he sent secret messages to Purushottama to assist him to maintain his position at Kondapalli and to conquer the territories which had been lost to the Sultan. His brother does not seem to have given him full support, and the only result of his secret communications with Purushottama was that he lost the favour of the Sultan and was driven out from Kondapalli.

What happened to him after this is not known to us from any source. It is not unlikely that he was killed either in action or by the orders of the Bahamani Sultan. The whereabouts of his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra, who had been appointed as the viceroy of the conquered territories of the south by his grandfather Kapilendra, cannot also be traced from any source. It is not unlikely that by fighting for his father's cause, he might have lost his life in a battle. Hamvira had another son named Narahari Patra, who survived him and who was

captured along with Virabhadra, son of Prataparudra, at Kondavidu when Krishnadeva Raya conquered it.

Dr. R. Subrahmanyam thinks that there was a compromise between Purushottama and Hamvira, and after the latter was defeated, the former allowed him to go to Khimidi, where he ruled as a vassal of his brother. Dr. Subrahmanyam has based this conclusion on local records which are not trustworthy. The later rulers of Parlakhemundi claimed their descent from the Gangas and not the Suryavamsis. Therefore we are unable to accept Dr. Subrahmanyam's view that Hamvira and his successors formed a line of suboridinate rulers under the Gajapatis of Orissa. Hamvira and his son Kumara Kapilesvara Mahapatra are the tragic figures of Orissan history and even the traditions of Orissa are silent about them. The *Madalapanji* only once records the name of Hamvira in connection with his fight with Purushottama for the throne, but tells us nothing more about him after his defeat by the latter Had Hamvira inherited his father's empire, its history would have probably taken a different turn Hamvira, one of the best generals of his age, would have probably averted the disintegration of the empire soon after Kapilendra's death. Lord Jagannatha's nomination of Purushottama to the throne, which is said to have been communicated to Kapilendra in a dream, and which was circulated among the people, became the best weapon in the hands of Purushottama in ousting his brother from the throne.

An Estimate of Purushottama : In the early part of his reign he lost his father's southern possessions, but, as we have already seen, he recovered them as far as Udayagiri in the later part of his career. The political conditions of both the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire favoured him in recovering his father's possessions. Though there is no evidence to show that, like his brother Hamvira, he was a successful general before his accession to the throne, after getting the throne he showed the diplomacy and the energy of a king who was the master of such large territories.

Mr. P. Mukherji has observed that Purushottama neglected the affairs of his northern frontier between A.D. 1467 and A D. 1493. The Abyssinian nobles Shahzada, Malik Andil and Sidi Badr made their ways to the throne through blood in Bengal, and the country was in a state of turmoil. Mr. Mukherji thinks that had Purushottama invaded Bengal at this stage, he would have crippled it and would have secured his

northern frontier from the Muslim attacks. Mr. Mukherji also states that Purushottama's war with the Hindu Vijayanagara empire was an unwise step, which made the kings of Vijayanagara the hereditary enemies of Orissa. The charge of failure to build up a Hindu solidarity against the Muslims, is also levelled against Kapilendra by some scholars. It may however be noted that pan-Hindu conception was alien to the age in which both the Orissan kings lived and ruled.

Purushottama seems to have been a learned man, a patron of learning and the author of some works in Sanskrit, which we shall discuss later. He looms large in Orissan traditions because of the Kanchi-Kaveri tradition discussed above.

Prataparudradeva (A.D. 1497—1540)

Eayly Part of His Reign: Prataparudra's accession to the throne was without a hitch and therefore, at the outset of his reign there was nothing to prevent him from pursuing his plans of consolidating his vast kingdom and recovering the lost territories of his grandfather's empire. In the early part of his reign the political conditions in the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire were also favourable to him for pursuing his plans. In the Bahamani kingdom the imbecile young Sultan Mahmud was hardly in a possition to control his turbulent and ambitious officers, who started the disintegration of the vast Bahamani kingdom in his reign. Prataparudra had no fear from an attack of the Muslims in the south.

The political conditions of the Vijayanagara empire were also favourable to him. Saluva Narasimha died in A.D. 1491 and Narasa Nayaka, who was his trusted servant and best general, became the regent of his young son Immadi Narasimha, who succeeded him. Narasa Nayaka became the virtual ruler of Vijayanagara and like his master Saluva Narasimha pursued the policy of putting an end to the Saluva dynasty. Narasa Nayaka was an energetic ruler and supressed all the revolts against him, but failed to recover Udayagiri and Kondavidu from the Orissan king. Prataparudra's possession of these forts is attested to by his Anantavaram and Rajavolu Plates. The Anantavarm Plates, dated A. D. 1500, prove that he was camping on the bank of the river Krishna before or in that year, but it is not clear whether he was proceeding to the south for consolidating his possessions up to Udayagiri or was out on an aggressive warfare against Vijayanagara for

the recovery of the Tamil districts. The position is obscure, but the fact remains that he was unable to conquer any part of the south beyond Udayagiri in the Nellore district. Even though there was dissensions in the Vijayanagara empire Narasa Nayaka succeeded in keeping it intact and no part of it was lost as long as he lived.

But the recovery of Raichur from the Bahamani Sultan and Udayagiri and Kondavidu from the king of Orissa, was always a matter of concern to the rulers of Vijayanagara. In A.D. 1503 Narasa Nayaka died and was succeeded by his son Vira Narasimha who imprisoned Immadi Narasimha and ultimately killed him Thus the Saluva dynasty came to an end and the new Taluva dynasty came into existence. This change of dynasties was again followed by a period of turmoil and dissensions and this provided an opportunity to Prataparudra to attempt again to recover the lost Tamil districts. He invaded the Vijayanagara kingdom in A.D. 1509, but it appears that he failed to achieve any success.

The most important cause of his retreat towards his capital without achieving any success in his southern expedition, was that Orissa was invaded from the north by Ala-ud-Din Abul Muzaffar Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal, who was an energetic and ambitious ruler. The author of the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* tells us that Hussain Shah conquered the country up to Orissa and levied tribute. The *Madalapanji* states that *Amura* (Amir) *Surathana* (Suratrana, i e. Sultan) the Patisa (Badshah) of Guada advanced as far as Puri and destroyed the images of Lord Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra. This Patisa (Badshah) Suratrana (Sultan) of Gauda can be easily identified with Hussain Shah, the Sultan of Bengal. Therefore, there was actually a Muslim invasion from the north before A. D. 1510, the date of the Velicherla Plates, in which it has been stated that the king of Gauda fled on the approach of Prataparudra. The invasion, therefore, seems to have taken place in A D. 1509 when Prataparudra was on a southern expedition. The *Madalapanji* further tells us that on hearing the invasion of the Sultan, the Gajapati returned to Orissa by forced marches, defeated the invader and pursued him to Bengal. The Sultan then took shelter in the fort of Mandaran in the Arambag sub-division of the Hooghly district. Thereafter Prataparudra besieged the fort, but his trusted general Govinda Vidyadhara turned a traitor and went to the side of the Sultan. Treachery in his army seems to have prevented the Gajapati from following his further operations against the king of Bengal.

Campaigns of Krishnadeva Raya against Orissa : Prataparudra's own inscriptions, the *Tabaqat-i-Akabari* and the *Madalapanji* thus combine to show that he was busy in his wars up to A.D. 1509 in his faf-flung kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to Udayagiri in the Nellore district in the south, but nowhere he achieved noteworthy success. The fortune and the circumstances did not favour him, but his operations clearly indicate that he was an energetic ruler and was no coward. When Krishnadeva Raya ascended the throne of Vijayanagara in A D. 1510. Prataparudra's chances of recovering the Tamil districts became extremely small. All historians agree that the new Raya was the most energetic and war-like king of the Vijayanagara empire From the beginning of his reign he resolved to recover the fortresses of Mudgal, Raichur and Udayagiri, which once belonged to Vijayanagara, but he did not all at once start a war against Orissa. If the local literature is to be believed, Krishnadeva Raya first proceeded against the Sultan of Bijapur who had offended him by using insolent words against him, and defeated him. He had perhaps the plan of recovering the forts in the Muslim possession first, but his able minister Saluva Timma persuaded him to start war against Orissa first.

The war that thus started, lasted for seven years and the Raya succeeded in breaking up the Gajapati empire during these years. He directed his campaign against Udayagiri in A.D. 1512 and succeeded in capturing it in A.D 1513. The siege lasted for eighteen months and the Raya engaged thirty four thousand infantry and eight hundred elephants against it. Even then the Orissan garrison held out for one year and a half. The fort was naturally strong because of the hills sorrounding it. The Raya prepared new routes by breaking up stones and led his army through them and finally captured it. Tirumala Rautraya, an uncle of Prataparudra, was captured and made captive.

Krishnadeve Raya next turned his attention towards Kondavidu which was the strongest of forts in the possession of the Gajapati in the south. Situated on the summit of a hill at a distance of thirteen miles from Guntur, it was considered to be most impregnable Saluva Timma was placed in charge of the operations against it, though for a while the Raya himself was also present there and he ordered the erection of movable wooden platforms to enable his soldiers to stand on a level with the defenders. The siege dragged on for several months and the fort was ultimately captured by starving inmates of the fort. The inscriptions and the contemporary literature prove that the Oriya noblemen and the soldiers did not surrender, but held on. The *Amuktamalyada*, a literary

work, states that the Oriyas assembled in the fort of Kondavidu "went to heaven without any wounds on their bodies". The Mangalagiri Pillar Inscription records that Saluva Timma starved the Oriyas to death. It states : "when Saluva (or the Hawk) surnamed Timma......... having captured the swan-like kings appointed by Gajapati at Kondavidu, is planning an attack (on the fort), the hostile princes, secretly absconding tormented by hunger and thirst, are searching for herbs and the (rain giving) clouds, in the mountains, the towns, the oceans and the earth. (*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I. pp. 203-5)" The Mangalagiri inscription is a record of the victor and it bears on it the stamp of untruth. The statement that the hostile princes i.e. the Oriya noblemen secretly absconded tormented by hunger and thirst, and searched for water in harbs, clouds, towns, the oceans and the earth, is wholly untrue. If the Oriya noblemen had actually absconded from the fort, there was no necessity for them to search for water in the above mentioned objects and places. After their escape from the fort, water must have been easily available to them. So, this statement of the Mangalgiri Pillar Inscription cannot be accepted. The real cause of the Oriyas going "to heaven without wounds on their bodies" was that thay were starved and the water-supply in the fort either ran short or was cut off. The Orissan garisson in Kondavidu showed a rare instance of heroism and patriotism in defending the fort, and preferred death to defeat and dishonour.

When the fort of Kondavidu was in a state of siege Krishnadeva Raya's forces were also occupying the minor fortresses of this region belonging to the Gajapati. These fortresses were Addanki, Vinukonda, Bellamkonda, Nagarjunakonda, Tangenda and Ketavaram, and they were occupied even before the fall of Kondavidu on the third June, 1515. Kondavidu fell in the hot season and therefore the Orissan garrison was in greater need of water, and when it became scarce they died of thirst. The Portuguese wrirer Nuniz tells us that the numerical strength of the army employed by the Raya, was far greater than that of the besieged army in the fort. The Amaravati, Tiruvannamalai and Kalahasti Inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya supplemented with Nuniz's accounts, give us a list of the Orissan noblemen captured at Kondavidu. They were Virabhadra, son of Prataparudra, Narahari Patra, son of Kumara Hamvira Mahapatra, Mallu Khan, Udanda Khan and Balachandra Mahapatra etc. Of these names Mallu Khan is definitely a Muslim name, and therefore, Prof. R. D. Banerjee makes the following observation about him :

"The acquisition of help from a Musalman neighbour to fight with a Hindu adversary involved a moral and political degradation in the Hindu world which can be easily understood by those who are familiar with Rajput history, but this was not the only occassion when Prataparudra employed Musalman mercenaries against Hindus."

It may, however, be noted that Hindu kings of Orissa were not the only rulers to employ the Muslims in their army. The Vijayanagara emperors employed Muslim soldiers and generals in large numbers. A copy of the Koran was placed on the throne of Vijayanagara, so that the Muslims in the army would have no objection to salute the Hindu monarch. The Muslims employed in the Vijayanagara army were not always fighting against the Muslims, but they were also fighting against the Hindus. Hindu sentiment or Muslim sentiment was not the guiding factor in wars; it was the self-interest that was the guiding factor in them. There is no definite evidence that Mallu Khan was an officer of the Adil-Sahi Sultan of Bijapur.

While the Oriya armies were being defeated by the Raya at Udayagiri and Kondavidu Prataparudra was not sitting idle. He was present both at Udayagiri and Kondavidu with an army but was defeated and driven out from both these places.

The Raya's army next crossed the river Krishna and invaded the fort of Kondapalii near Bezwada. Here the best soldiers and generals of Orissa had assembled in a desparate attempt to stem the tide of Raya's invasion, but even then the fort, of which the commandant was Praharesvara Patra, was taken by storm. The Kalahasti Inscription supplies us with a list of the persons who were made captives. They were Sirsachandra Mahapatra, Bijili Khan and Bodhan Mahapatra. Nuniz states that a queen of Prataparudra also fell into the hands of the victor, but this statement has not been accepted by other scholars. It becomes improbable that a queen of the Gajapati was staying in a fort which was likely to be invested and captured. After capturing Kondavidu the Raya's army captured several minor fortressess, such as Anantagiri, Nalagonda, Kambhammettu, Kanakagiri, Sankaragiri etc. The conquest of these fortresses shows that a part of the Telingana upland, which was still in the possession of Orissa, was also lost during this campaign.

The Raya's army next proceeded towards Orissa and finding no oposition on the way reached Simhachalam. Here Krishnadeva Raya halted his army and sent word to the Gajapati several times to meet

him in a battle, but Prataparudra did not meet him. He seems to have been busy in preparing himself for an eventual fight with the Raya in his own homeland of Orissa. The Raya set up a pillar of victory at Simhachalam commemorating his success in his advance towards Orissa.

The *Manucharita* and the *Amuktamalyada* record the details of further advance of Krishnadeva Raya up to the Gajapati Kataka (Cuttack) The latter work states that Krishnadeva Raya went to Puri, worshipped god Balarama and Subhadra there, and from there started towards Kataka (Cuttack) and that Prataparudra was scared away by the very noise of his war drums. The statements of these local works have not been believed by scholars, but Dr. R Subrahmanyam thinks, on the basis of the information supplied by them, that it is not improbable that Krishnadeva Raya actually burnt Kataka and forced the Gajapati to take to flight in panic. He depends on the panegyrical accounts of these local works, which are not supported by any other evidence. Krishnadeva Raya recorded in inscriptions all his victories over his Orissan adversary in his advance towards Orissa. Had the Raya reached the Gajapati capital, burnt it and scored a victory over the Orissan king, these facts would not have failed to find mention in some of his inscriptions. Since no epigraphical evidence is available about the fact that Krishnadeva Raya had actually reached Kataka, we can not take it to be a historical one.

It seems that the Gajapati was preparing himself for a last fight at his capital, but the Raya's army never reached Kataka. In the mean while a very sad event took place and this hastened the Gajapati to conclude a treaty with the Raya. Virabhadra, the valiant son of Prataparudra, who had been captured at Kondavidu, committed suicide at the capital of Vijayanagara and this sad news seems to have damped the militant spirit of his father. In his depressed state of mind the Gajapati might have thought that further fight with Vijayanagara would not be conducive to the best interests of his kingdom. Therefore a treaty was concluded with the Raya in A.D 1519, as result of which the river Krishna was fixed as the boundary between the two states. A daughter of the Gajapati was given in marriage to Krishnadeva Raya. As a result of this treaty Krishnadeva Raya's seven years war with Orissa ended. The military strength of Orissa was crippled and she was forced to give up her ambition of becoming an empire. It must, however, be noted that Krishnadeva Raya was not vindictive or revengeful in extracting terms from the defeated Gajapati. The object of the Raya seems to have been to secure permanent peace with his Hindu neighbour. As result of this peace

treaty Prataparudra finally lost the hope of recovering his grandfather's conquered territories, but even after the conclusion of the treaty Orissa continued to be a big kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Krishna in the south.

Circumstances leading to Virabhadra's death : It will be recalled that this prince was captured at Kondavidu and carried away as captive to Vijayanagara. Krishnadeva Raya treated him kindly and appointed him as the Governor of Male-Bennur-*sima* in Mysore. Dr. Subrahmanyam, however, states that he was not made the Governor of the above mentioned territory, but was assigned by the Raya its revenues to enable him to maintain the status of a prince. About his death there are also differences of opinion. According to one version the prince was quite loyal to the Raya, as is evidenced by an inscription at Davangere dated A.D. 1515-16 which proves that Virabhadra exempted certain taxes due to his palace in the Male-Bennur-*Sima*. Before doing so the prince obtained the sanction of the Raya and wished in this record his prosperity along with that of his father Prataparudradeva.

From all accounts it is evident that the prince was sufficiently grown up, so that his father had entrusted him with the administration of Kondavidu. He was famous as a great swordsman and was very dexterous with both sword and dagger. Krishnadeva Raya once summoned him to his presence and asked him to fence with a person who was not of royal blood, but was an expert in fencing. Virabhadra wanted to please the Raya by showing his skill in fencing, but when he learnt that the person appointed for the purpose was a man of lower rank he felt greatly insulted and killed himself on the spot. The prince represented the spirit of the Oriya noblemen of his age, who preferred death to dishonour. The death of a son possessing such heroism and self-respect, must have weighed down the mind of the Gajapati and would have hastened him to conclude a treaty with the Raya.

The Gajapati Princess : According to the terms of the treaty concluded with Krishnadeva Raya, Prataparudra gave his daughter in marriage to him. The name of this princess variously appears in the records as Jaganmohini, Bhadra and Tukka. The last name seems to have been given to her after her marriage with the Raya. There is no reference to her marriage with the Raya in any of the inscriptions which were engraved under the orders of Krishnadeva Raya along the route of his advance towards Orissa up to Simhachalam. Therefore, some scholars doubt whether such a marriage had ever taken place. They doubt the

accounts of Nuniz and the local literature in this regard. It may, however, be noted that all the inscriptions of Krishnadeva Raya recording his exploits during his Orissan campaigns, were engraved before A.D. 1519 when he concluded a treaty with Prataparudra. Therefore, the omission of this event in them is easily imaginable.

Nuniz tells us that the princess was not happy after her marriage and tried to avenge her brother's death and father's humiliation by trying to poison the Raya. This story seems to have been based on the court gossip Krishnadeva Raya had a very large number of wives and among them the Oriya princess became one. The Raya was in advanced age when he married her. It seems that the Raya was even older than the princess's father and he predeceased Prataparudra. The marriage was the result of a political exigency and, therefore, it was bound to be a failure. Krishnadeva Raya deserted her and she spent her life at Kambham in the Kurnool district, where she seems to have died. She was an accomplished princess, well-versed in Sanskrit. A collection of five verses known as *Tukka Panchakam*, traditionally attributed to her, bears witness to her knowledge of Sanskrit. In these verses she bemoans the neglect of her husband and her separation from him. Her father supplied her with large sums of money and she also sold her jewels and with the money thus obtained, she excavated a very large water reservoir near Kambham. The ill-treatment accorded to her by the Raya would have been also a source of sorrow to her father.

Prataparudradeva and Sharqi Sultan of Jaunpur : At the end of the *Sarasvativilasam*, the authorship of which is attributed to Prataparudradeva, his titles appear as follows :

Shri Vira-Gajapati Gaudesvara Navakoti Karnata Kalavaragesvara Yamunapuradhisvara-Husana Sahi Suratrana-Saranarakshana etc.

Dr. R. Subrahmanyam infers from the titles *Yamunapuradhisvara Husanasahi Suratrana-Saranarakshana* that Hushang Shah, the Sharqi Sultan of Jaunpur, led the armies of Bengal into Orissa when Alaud-din Hussain Shah of Bengal invaded Orissa in the early part of Prataparudradeva's reign, and that he was probably defeated and taken prisoner by the Orissan king and this gave an occassion to Prataparudra to assume these titles. But it seems that Prataparudra's father Purushottama assumed these titles towards the end of his reign. Sharqi Sultan Mahmud Shah and his younger brother Hussain Shah warred against the Delhi Sultan Bahalul Lodi several times but eventually Hussain was completely defeated by the Delhi Sultan and was driven to Bihar where he

occupied a small principality and ruled there for sometime. Even when he was in Bihar, he was intriguing against the Delhi Sultan, and therefore, Bahalul's successor Sikandar Lodi drove him out from Bihar. Hussain then took shelter in the court of Alaud-din Hussain Shah of Bengal. The Sharqi Sultan was finally defeated by Bahalul in A. D. 1479, and therefore his flight to Bengal must have taken place in the reign of Purushottama. After having been driven out from Bihar the Sharqi Sultan might have sought shelter from Purushottama as well. At any rate, the compound *Sarana-rakshana* means the giver of protection to one who seeks shelter; it does not carry any implication that Purushottama or his son Prataparudra had defeated the Sharqi Sultan.

Prataparudra and the Sultan of Golkonda : During the reign of Mahamud Shah the great Bahamani kingdom was dismembered and five new kingdoms came into existence. The Sultanate of Golkonda (near modern Hyderabad) was one of them. It was founded by Quli Qutb Shah, one of the generals of Mahamud Shah Bahamani, who declared his independence in A.D. 1512. When Krishnadeva Ray a started his war against the Gajapati and remained continuously engaged in it for seven years, it provided an opportunity to Sultan Quli to subdue the Hindu principalities in Telingana. After concluding a treaty with Prataparudra Krishnadeva Raya became engaged in a war with Sultan Ismail Adil Shah of Bijapur in A.D. 1520 and tried to wrest Raichur from him. This also provided another opportunity to Sultan Quli to grab some territories of Telingana. Because of the preoccupation of the Raya in his fight with Bijapur, there was no possibility of a combination of the Hindu powers of Vijayanagara and Orissa against Golkonda. Orissa had became considerably weakned after her seven years war with Vijayanagara, and therefore, it could not check Muslim inroads into her territories in Telingana. It may be noted that after the conclusion of the treaty with Krishnadeva Raya Prataparudra had still in his possession such important forts as Kondapalli, Kambhammet and Rajahmundry Of them, Kondapalli, (near Bezwada) was most important and Prataparudra now made it the seat of his southern viceroyalty in place of Kondavidu. The Gajapati placed his officers in each of them and thus tried to consolidate the remnants of his southern possessions, but because of the constant incursions of Sultan Quli, he had ultimately to loss them.

The accounts supplied to us by the Muslim sources for the history of this period are neither clear nor unimpeachable. It is stated

that Quli Qutb Shah attacked Sitapati, the chief of Kambhammett, who was a feudatory of the Gajapati. Thereupon the chief appealed to Prataparudradeva who promptly came to his rescue, but both of them were defeated by the Sultan. An inscription from Kondapalli dated A. D. 1525-26 proves that Prataparudra was camping on the banks of the river Krishna and was constructing a temple at Mangalagiri. The epigraph indicates that Gajapati had personally come down to fight with Sultan Quli, but neither the Gajapati nor his officers at Rajahmundry and Kondapalli seem to have succeeded in resisting the Sultan. The reduction of the fort of Kondapalli by the Sultan is proved by an inscription dated A D. 1531 The fall of this important fort led to the fall of other forts as well It is stated in the Muslim sources that the commandant of Kondapalli was Ramachandra, son of the Gajapati, and he had been joined by Sitapati. The Gajapati army, according to these sources, consisted of three hundred thousand foot and thirty thousand horse and they all marched against the Sultan under the command of Ramachandra, but were defeated. A treaty was ultimately made by which the river Godavari became the boundary between Golkonda and Orissa.

As observed earlier, the history of the last part of Prataparudra's rule is not clear. It, however, seems that during this period most of the territories to the south of the river Godavari were lost to him. The date of his death has become a matter of controversy. Scholars like Prof. R. D. Banarjee and Mr. P. Mukherji hold that he died in A. D. 1540, but Dr. Subrahmanyam after an elaborate dicussion comes to the conclusion that he breathed his last in A. D. 1538. According to the *Madalapanji* Prataparudra had two minor sons named Kaluadeva and Kakharuadeva, which seem to be the nicknames. They together ruled for less than two years and were murdered one by one by Govinda Vidyadhara. With the death of these princes the Suryavamsi dynasty came to an end.

Sri Chaitanya in Orissa : The great saint Sri Chaitanya passed most of his time at Puri in the reign of Prataparudradeva. According to Jayananda's *Chaitanyamangla* his forefathers were the inhabitants of Jajpur in Orissa, but when they were persecuted by Raja Bhramaravara, they migrated to Sylhet and from there they came to Nadiya. Mr. P. Mukherji rightly thinks that the Raja Bhramaravara was no other than Kapilendra. We have seen that the last Ganga king Bhanudeva IV conferred the title of Bhramaravara on Kapilendra. In the

Gopinathapura Inscription he is also called Bhramaravara *nripa*. It is not known why the forefathers of Chaitanya incurred the displeasure of Kapilendra, but it seems that they continued to give their allegiance to Bhanudeva even after the usurpation of his throne by Kapilendra. This seems to have been the cause of their persecution by the usurper.

At any rate, Sri Chaitanya's fore-fathers had become the permanent residents of Bengal when the saint was born. Sri Chaitanya renounced the world in A.D. 1510 and then proceeded to Puri in the same year. Originally he wanted to spend his life at Vrindavana, but his mother Sachi Devi insisted that he should be at Puri, so that she could get some information about him from the pilgrims visiting the temple of Jagannatha during the Car Festival. After two months' stay at Puri, he went on a pilgrimage to the south and spent about two years there. Next he proceeded to Vrindavana and after two years' stay there, he came back to Puri and passed the remaining seventeen years of his life at this holy place till his death in A. D. 1533.

This is the short story of Shri Chaitanya's long stay at Puri. His intense devotion to Lord Jagannatha was the main cause of his long stay at Puri, or else as an ascetic he was free to move to other places of India after the death of his mother. The principles of his preachings constituted what we now call Gaudiya Vaishnavism. All scholars are agreed that he did not found any new religious sect, but only emphasised certain aspects of Vaishnavism which was a very ancient religious sect. He was a man of intense love, which he wanted to share with all men and women He was never sectarian in his outlook and like a true Hindu he showed respect to all Hindu deities. In the semi-biographical accounts of his life, composed by his later followers, he is stated to have visited the Siva temples of Jalesvara, Kapotesvar and Lingaraja and the Sakta shrine of Viraja He also visited the Vaishnava temples of Varaha at Jajpur. Srikurmanatha at Srikurmam and Narasimha at Simhachalam. He also went to some other Hindu shrines of the south He neither revolted against Hinduism, nor founded a new sect. He was cosmopolitan in his religious beliefs and accepted even the Muslims as his followers. During his long stay at Puri a large number of notable Oriyas became his disciples, among whom the most prominent were the Gajapati Prataparudradeva, Bhavananda Pattanayaka and his two sons Ramananda and Gopinatha. The last two persons were the Governors respectively of Rajahmundry and Midnapore. The other followers were Kanhai Khuntia, Janardana Mahanti, Tulasi Parichha, Kasi Misra, Pradyumna Misra, Krishna Dasa, Sikhi Mahanti and his sister Madhavi Dasi. The great

Oriya poets of Prataparudra's time were Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Yasovanta Dasa and they were also the followers of Sri Chaitanya as is evidenced by the fact that they have all described Sri Chaitanya in their works as a great saint and sometimes even as an incarnation of Vishnu. The Bengali followers of the great saint did not. however, share his magnanimity and catholicity. The aforesaid great Vaishnava Oriya poets have not found mention in the Bengali Gaudiya literature. This narrow outlook of the Bangali Vaishnavas was the cause of antagonism between the Bengali and Oriya followers of the great saint, the echoes of which have found mention in the *Jagannatha-charitamirta* by Divakara Dasa.

Prior to the coming of Sri Chaitanya to Puri, the Oriyas had a form of Vaishnavism which represented a synthesis of the last form of Mahayanism and the cult of Jagannatha. The life of Srikrishna and his dalliance with the Gopis never formed an element of the old Vaishnavism of Orissa. The new form of Vaisnavism brought by Sri Chaitanya to Orissa emphasised *Madhurarasa-upasana*, or the mode of service through love. It must, however, be noted that the love preached by him was placed on a spiritual plane and he never intended to bring it down to the physical level of satisfying carnal desire. His attitude towards women is indicated by the fact that he did not permit his devoted female follower Madhavi Dasi to meet him. The alleged great influence of Sri Chaitanya on Prataparudradeva and his interference in the politics of his reign, will be subsequently dealt with.

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APPENDIX VI

THE SARALA MAHABHARATA AND KAPILENDRA'S CONQUESTS.

Sarala Dasa, the writer of the first Oriya *Mahabharata*, was a contemporary of Kapilendra or Kapilesvara as is evident from the fact that the poet makes a direct reference to him in the *Adi Parva* of this *Mahabharata*. A close study of this work reveals the fact that the poet has described in puranic settings the conquests of Kapilendra in the various parts of his *Mahabharata*, particularly in the *Sabha Parva*. Yet, the earlier scholars like Mr. P. Mukherji and Dr. R. Subrahmanyam have observed that the Oriya literature of the period contains no historical information whatsoever. Mr. P. Mukherji writes: "the contemporary Oriya works are religious in character. They deal with the legendary tales and supernatural matters, and are disappointingly silent regarding the political events of this period." Dr. Subrahmanyam makes a similar observation: "the rise of the truely Oriya dynasty of the Suryavamsi Gajapatis and the influence of Vaisnavism kindled the literary genius of the people and stimulated the growth of the vernacular literature. Inspite of the fact that the Gajapati monarchs were enthusiastic patrons of Oriya literature, curiously enough no contempoary Oriya poet has sung the achievements of these monarchs."

These observations are not correct. During the Suryavamsi rule in Orissa a class of semi-historical and semi-biographical vernacular literature originated in the south under patronage of the Vijayanagara emperors and their subordinate rulers. Among them *Jaimini Bharatam* of Pina-Virabhadra Kavi, dedicated to Saluva Narasimha and the *Varaha Puranam* of Nandi Mallayya and *Ghanta Singayya* dedicated to Narasa Nayaka, *Manucharita* and Nandi Timmana's *Parijataharanam* are also similar works which relate the victories of Vijayanagara and the losses of Orissa. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* belongs to this class of vernacular literature and it relates in veiled puranic settings the notable conquests made by Kapilendra, though there is no evidence to show that he ever enjoyed royal patronage or wrote his work at the biddings of the king.

The poet has followed the Sanskrit *Mahabharata* in its broadest outline and then has added copiously to it the stories of his creation and knowledge, mostly based on the contemporary history. His work is in a reality an encyclopedia of his times, embodying all that was known to him including the contemporary and past historical events, introduced in veiled puranic settings, and hundreds of historical and geographical names of the contemporary India. What is, however, most peculiar is the fact that he treats the Pandavas as the princes of Orissa and depicts their life and activities against its historical and geographical back grounds.

In the *Sabha Parva* of his *Mahabharata* which consists of thirteen thousand verses, he takes Arjuna, for inviting kings to the *Rajasuya* sacrifice, to such places as Kondavidu, Devarakonda, Srisailam, Udayagiri, Tanjor and Trichinapolli, Srirangam etc. and makes them the feudatories of Arijuna everywhere. In this *Parva* he also describes in a long story the fight between Bhima and Mallikarjuna whom he describes as Pundarika Vasudeva. The conflict between Kapilendra and Mahmmud Shah, the Sharqi Sultan of Jaunpur, has also been described in an episode of the fight between Arjuna and Mahesvara Mahmmudi of Yamunapura or Jaunpur.

In this *Mahabharata,* so peculiar in character, reference to historical events and geographical places have rather been numerous, though unfortunately they have yet been very little studied and utilised. The present writer has written and published in Oriya a book of respectable size entitled *Sarala Sahityara Aitihasika Chitra*; published a paper entitled *The Battle cf Devarakonda as described in a story of the Oriya Mahabharata* in the *Journal of Andhra Historical Research Society*, Vol. XXV, pp. 19ff; and has added in his *Sarala Dasa* (Makers of Indian Literature Series, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi), a chapter entitled *Geographical and Historical Information*, which have opened up a new line of research in this great Oriya epic. We obtain a historical and geographical picture of India from this *Mahabharata*, the main characteristic of which is that it is not a picture of the *Mahabharata* age, but of the historical times, particularly of the poet's time. We must, however, note the limitations of the geographical and historical information left to us by Sarala Dasa. It has been casually and incidently introduced into all the *Parvas* of his *Mahabharata* except his *Sabha Parva* in which a deliberate attempt appears to have been made to present a geographical picture of India, mostly of historical times. The art of writing history or geography

in a direct and systematic manner being not one of the achievements of the ancient Hindu writers, Sarala Dasa can hardly be expected to have risen above the spirit of his age. Because of his declared view that the *Mahabharata* wars were fought seventy-three times, he has consistently introduced into his *Mahabharata* the historical and geographical information of all ages known to him. Among the geographical places mentioned, some may be fictitious but the vast majority of them are identifiable. Some of the historical and geographical names mentioned have been changed by the poet probably with a view to give them puranic forms. and in some cases their Oriya forms have been used. The geographical regions mentioned do not often show their order of contiguity and directions given in them are also sometimes erroneous. Evidently Sarala Dasa did not use any maps which were hardly available in his time. He has left to us certain historical and geographical names which he had heard and which he could remember at the time of writing and conveniently incorporate them in his metrical compositions. To meet the exigencies of his metre some names have been lengthened or shortened and for the same exigencies the contiguity of geographical places and regions mentioned , has been made topsy-turvy. Despite these limitations Sarala Dasa's knowledge of history and geography constitutes an important and interesting source of information to us.

In extending his kingdoms, king Kapilendra, the contemporary of Sarala Dasa, took in A. D. 1448 the first step of conquering the Reddi kingdom lying in the valleys of the rivers Godavari and Krishna with its capital at Kondavidu near Guntur and its secondary capital at Rajahmundry. Next in A D. 1458 he won the battle of Devarakonda which led to the acquisition of that important fort and Warangal along with the entire Telingana region. In A.D. 1461 he marched at the head of a Hindu army in a bid to conquer Bidar, the capital of the Bahamani kingdom. By A. D. 1467 he succeeded in conquering the important fort of Udayagiri situated in the Nellore district and with it as his base made incursions further into the Vijayanagara empire, conquering ultimately Chandragiri and Kanchi. In the *Sarala Mahabharata* all these conquests have been described in the puranic settings

There is every evidence to show in his *Mahabharata* that the poet served in the Gajapati army in his youth. Our evidences lead us to think that he was associated with the Orissan army in the earlier stages of the expansion of Kapilendra's empire. In his *Mahabharata*

the poet shows a remarkable knowledge of the historical kingdoms and the historical places of his time, but with the geography of the Krishna-Godavari delta he shows a greater acquaintance which he appears to have acquired through his personal association. He has mentioned the river Krishna and Godavari frequently and refers to Rajahmundry, which he calls Mahendranagara, Kondavidu, Devarakonda, Srisailam, Patalaganga, Vijayavada (Bezwada), Bhadrachalam Mangalagiri etc. of this region. He has recorded the mythological stories which he seems to have heard from the local priests relating to the origin of the Sivalinga Mallikarjuna enshrined on the top of Srisailam by the side of the Patalaganga flowing nearby. The poet has woven out a long narrative out of the details of the battle of Devarakonda fought in A.D 1458. Sarala Dasa during his military service under the Gajapati army had heard some stories relating to the history of the Bahamani kingdom, which he has utilised in modified forms in his *Mahabharata*.

It is interesting to note that Sarala Dasa extends invitation through the Pandavas on the occassion of their *Rajasuya* sacrifice to almost all historical kings who fought with Allauddin Khiliji for their freedom. Although the names of these kings have in some cases been slightly changed and the names of their kingdoms have sometimes been erroneously given, the narratives written by the poet about them lead us to identify them with the Baghela king Karnadeva of Gujrat, the Yadava kings Ramachandradeva and Saṅkaradeva of Devagiri, the Sisodiya king Hammiradeva of Chitor, the Kakatiya king Prataparudradeva of Telingana and the Pandya king Vira Pandya of the south. Only the name of Vira Ballala, the Hoysala king of Mysore, whose kingdom was also conquered by Allauddin Khiliji, is not to be found in the list of freedom-fighters. The omission appers to be intentional, because Vira Ballala did not fight at all and when Malik Kafur appeared before the gates of his capital Dvarasamudra, disregarding the advice of his well-wishers, he abjectly surrendered his wealth and kingdom to him. For this reason the poet appears to eave ignored him as being unworthy of receiving invitation from the Pandavas.

Two long narratives of the *Sarala Mahabharata* have been devoted to the wars connected with Kalpi On the break-up of the Delhi Sultanate on the eve ot Mahammed Tughluq's death, Kalpi became a small independent state and also a bone of contention among the Sultans of Delhi, Malwa and Jaunpur. The tripartite struggle that ensued

for its possession, has become the subject matter of these narratives, which Sarala Dasa has written in his own way in puranic settings with the changed names of the Sultans, but with the correct names of their territories. The poet has referred to the historical dynasties places of historical importance and the names of historical kings, particularly of the south India and of Bengal. Some narratives lead us to think that Kapilendra was involved in conflicts with Delhi and Malwa as an ally of the Sultans of Jaunpur and the Bahamani kingdom respectively. Another narrative leads us to think that Kapilendra abdicated his throne in favour of one of his sons whom the poet calls Puru and Pravira, to be identified with Purushottama and Hamvira respectively. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* is thus a source of historical and geographical information not only for the history and geography of Orissa, but also of India.

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11. The Bhois

Govinda Vidyadhara (C. 1542-1549) : We have seen that Govinda Vidyadhara, who was a general of Prataparudradeva, murdered his two minor sons and usurped the Gajapati throne. The dynasty established by him is known as the Bhoi dynasty and our main source of information about it is the *Madalapanji*. The Bhois belonged to the writer class, later on known as the Karanas Ramachandradeva who was made the Raja of Khurda by Akbar's general Mansimha, was the son of Danai Vidyadhara, a lieutenant of Govinda Vidyadhara, and he has been described by the *Madalapanji* as a Bhoi king, belonging to the Yaduvamsa, of which Srikrishna of the *Mahabharata* fame was a prominent member. So, it becomes difficult to ascertain whether the Bhois were originally Karanas or the Gopalas. In the *Sarala Mahabharata* the Gopalas (the cow-herd caste) have been described as the Bhois. It seems that the Bhoi rulling family originally belonged to the Gopala caste, but when they took to the profession of scribes, they became Karanas. At any rate, they were not Kshatriyas and have been referred to as the Sudra *nripatis* in the Srijanga Inscription of the Balasore district. The *Madalapanji* states that Prataprudadeva had sixteen sons who survived him, but they were all murdered by Govinda Vidyadhara, who made his position firm as the king of Orissa by removing them in this manner.

He does not seem to have, at first, been recognized as Gajapati by his feudatories This is evident from his inscription on the *Jagamohana* of the Jagannatha temple in which he declares that the feudatories of the Gadjats must obey him and he who violates this order rebels against Jagannatha and gets the sin of killing a brahmana with one's own hand. The beginning of his reign cannot be accurately dated so long the exact date of the death of Prataparudra is not known. The *Madalapanji* assigns him a reign of seven or eleven years, of which the shorter period is generally accepted.

It is stated that the Sultan of Golkonda invaded the southern part of the Gajapati kingdom and Govinda Vidyadhara spent eight months in the south in fighting with the Sultan. When he was engaged in his fight

with the invader, Raghu Bhanja Chhotaraya rose in rebellion in the north and assisted by an alien named Abdul Shah besieged Kataka, but was defeated and driven out by Govinda Vidyadhara who quickly returned to his capital on hearing the news of the rebellion. It seems that Raghu Bhanja Chhotaraya was the son of the sister of Prataparudradeva and therefore he wanted to capture the Gajapati throne after the murder of the sons of the Gajapati, but he failed. Most probably, Raghu Bhanja was the younger brother of the ruler of Mayurbhanj.

Chakrapratapadeva (C. 1549-1557) : Govinda Vidyadhara was succedeed by his son Chakrapratapadeve who ruled for twelve years and six months. He entrusted the administration of the kingdom to Danai Vidyadhara who, as already stated, was a lieutenant of Govinda Vidyadhara. Chakrapratapadeva has been represented as a bad king who forced the brahmanas to cut grass for horses. According to the *Akabarnama* his son Narasimha Jena poisoned him to death.

Narasimha Jena (C. 1557-1558) : Chakrapratapadeva was succeeded by his son Narasimha Jena. Nothing is known about the events of his reign except that Mukunda Harichandana and his brothers rebelled against him. The Harichandana brothers entered into the palace of the king in palanquins in the guise of women and killed the king with a dagger. Thus his rule ended after only one year.

Raghurama Chotaraya (C. 1558-1560) : After the murder of Narasimha Jena his brother Raghurama was placed on the throne and he ruled for only one year and a half. From the *Madalapanji* it appears that there was a tripartite struggle for the throne among the three aspirants *viz*. Danai Vidyadhara, Mukunda Harichandana and Raghubhanja Chhotaraya. But in this struggle Mukunda Harichandana ultimately succeeded. Danai Vidyadhara was put in prison and Raghubhanja was defeated and made prisoner. After having eliminated the two rivals, Mukunda Harichandana killed Raghurama and ascended the throne.

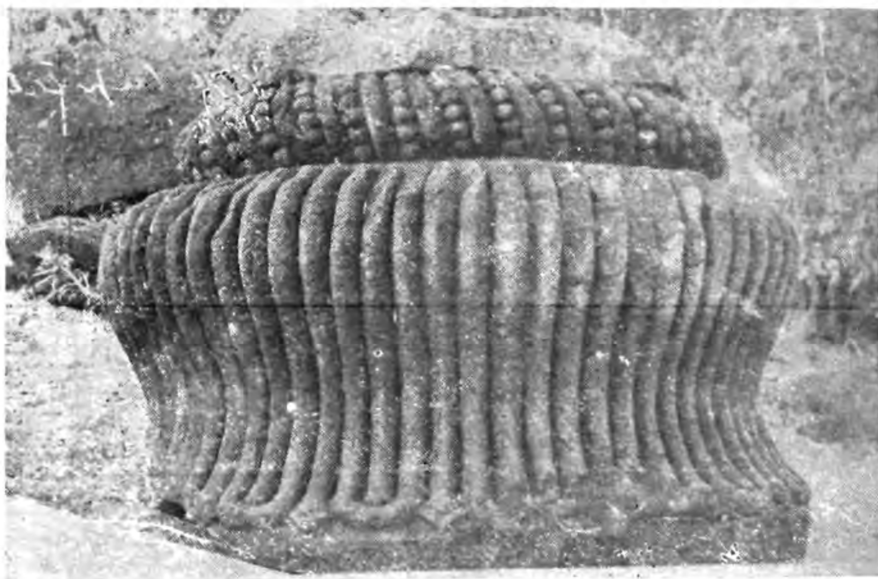
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Parsuramesvara Temple, Bhubaneswar

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The Fragmentary "Bell Capital" now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar



The Lion Capital discovered from the neighbourhood of the Bhaskaresvara Temple, Bhubaneswar

Door Jambs of Ratnagiri, Cuttack District



Surya, Konark

Rani gumpha, Udaya Giri, Bhubaneswar



Grill with dancing figures, Kapilesvara Temple, Bhubaneswar

Muktesvara Temple, Bhubaneswar



Konark Horse



Alasa Kanya, Lingaraja Temple, Bhubaneswar



An Architectural Fragment discovered from the Rice Fields of Bhubaneswar



Vaital Temple, Bhubaneswar

12. The Chalukyas

Mukundadeva, the Last Hindu King

(A.D. 1560-1568)

The dynasty established by Mukundadeva has been described as the Chalukya dynasty. It seems that he claimed his descent from the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi, established by Pulakesin II of the famous Western Chalukya dynasty of Vadami. It is usual for the ruling dynasties of Orissa to associate their origin with the famous ruling dynasties of India. Mukundadeva might have done the same after ascending the Gajapati throne. There is, however, no other independent evidence to show that he actually belonged to the Eastern Chalukya family. In his inscription on the Bhimesvara temple at Draksharama in the East Godavari district, he is described as the son of Saravaraju and grandson of Singaraju. In Orissan traditions he is known as Telinga Mukundadeva. Ferishta makes a mention of a feudatory dynasty known as Bahuvalendras and as Harichandanas, ruling in the Sarvasidhi taluk of the Visakhapatnam district. Mukundadeva possibly belonged to this ruling family who were originally the feudatories of the Gajapati. Mukundadeva first came into prominence by defending the fort of Kataka (Cuttack) when it was besieged by Raghubanja Chhotaraya in the reign of Govinda Vidyadhara and since then his influence in the politics of Orissa increased.

Mukundadeva's inscription at Draksharama, referred to above, clearly indicates that he was in possession of the southern part of the Gajapati kingdom up to the river Godavari. It states that Mukundadeva defeated the king of Gauda and then having performed *Tulapurusha* (the ceremony of weighing against gold) and other ceremonies, he remitted taxes on marriages. This inscription provides the clear evidence that Mukundadeva's kingdom extended up to Triveni in the north before 1567. A flight of steps constructed on the Ganges at Triveni (in the Hooghly district), which is still known as Mukunda-ghata, corroborates the above epigraphical evidence. Prof. R. D. Banerjee states that Mukundadeva also

built a great embankment on which the road from Magra to Triveni has been laid and that there is still a considerable influence of the Oriyas at Triveni.

Mukundadeva was thus a very able ruler who succeeded in preserving the prestige of the Gajapati empire to a great extent, even though he got the Gajapati throne through murder. The Orissan people still remember him with gratitude on account of the fact that he succeeded in restoring peace and prestige. He became involved in the politics of Bengal, which ultimately cost him his life and throne Very unwisely he gave shelter to Ibrahim Sur who was a great enemy of Sulaiman Karrani, the Sultan of Bengal, and thus incurred his displeasure. He further gave offence to the Sultan by exchanging embassies with the great Mughal emperor Akbar. In A.D. 1566 Akbar sent envoys to the court of Mukundadeva and Mukundadeva in exchange sent a Hindu ambassador named Paramananda Ray to the court of the Mughal emperor. In these diplomatic relations Akbar gained upper hand as his ultimate aim was to annex Bengal to his empire. For this purpose he wanted the support of the neighbouring Hindu kingdom of Orissa. He was not, however, in favour of strengthening the position of Mukundadeva as was evident from the fact that he did not give any help to the king of Orissa when he was attacked by Sulaiman Karrani. In A.D. 1568 when Sultan of Bengal invaded Orissa Akbar was engaged in the siege of Chitor and he did not extend any help to the Orissan king probably with the object that Orissa should become a part of Bengal, so that he would ultimately annex Bengal with Orissa.

Placed in this predicament, Mukundadeva was attacked by Sulaiman Karrani in A.D. 1568 who sent an expedition under the command of his son Bayazid assisted by Sikandar Uzbeg and Kalapahara. The Bengal army marched through Dhalbhum and Mayurbhanj and emerged in the coastal strip. Mukundadeva was not prepared for the invasion and he sent Raghubhanja Chhotaraya to resist the invaders. This Raghubhanja seems to have been the same person who had been cast into prison by Govinda Vidyadhara for claiming the Gajapati throne. He seems to have been released from the prison by Mukundadeva and sent to oppose the invading army. But he could not succeed in the mission entrusted to him and the Bengal army irresistibly reached Kataka (Cuttack). Mukundadeva had no other alternative than to submit to the invaders, as Raghubhanja seems to have turned a traitor at this stage.

Different versions have been given in our sources about the Muslim invasion of 1568. In the *Madalapanji* it is stated that Orissa was invaded by two different armies of Bengal, one of which fought against Mukundadeva on the bank of the Ganges and the other proceeded under Bayazid and Kalapahara towards his capital at Kataka (Cuttack). Mukundadeva bravely fought with the Muslim army, but was ultimately forced to take refuge in the fort of Kotisami, which has been identified with Kotsimul on the western bank of the river Damodara in the Hooghly district of Bengal. The other army under Bayazid reached Kataka which was then under the command of Koni Samanta Simhara who fought bravely against the invaders, but was killed At this time Ramachandra Bhanja, the commandant of Sarangagarh, declared himself to be the king of Orissa. Mukundadeva heard all these developments in Orissa and hastened to Kataka but due to the rebellion of Ramachandra Bhanja, he had to submit to the invader. Mukundadeva then proceeded to supress the rebellion at Sarangagarh (near Baranga), but in the fight that followed Ramachandra killed him. Ramachandra in turn was killed by the invaders on the same day.

Another tradition is that Mukundadeva fought with the invading army at Gohiratikara (near Jajpur) and was killed in the battle. Another tradition speaks of two traitors, Sikhi and Manai, who were the generals of the king of Orissa. These traitors indicated a jungle path to Kalapahara who came to the rear of the Mukundadeva's army and routed it.

There are thus different stories about the death of Mukundadeva. It is, however, most probable that he was killed by the traitor Ramachandra Bhanja. In the *Madalapanji* this traitor has sometimes been described as Ramachandra Bhanja and sometimes as Ramachandradeva. The latter name seems to be more correct. He was a local chief who had been put in charge of the important fort of Sarangagarh. After the fall of the important forts of Kataka and Sarangagarh the Muslim army occupied Orissa.

Mukundadeva ruled for only eight years and during this short time he showed great abilities. He again became the master of the Gajapati kingdom stretching from the Ganges in the north to the Godavari in the south. The people of Orissa still remember him as the creator of brahmin *Sasanas* and the builder of several structures within the compound of the Jagannatha temple at Puri. He was also a patron of art and literature. The foreign travellers like Saesare Fredericke and

Tieffenthaler have nothing but high praise for him. All these evidences prove that the last Hindu king of Orissa was great both in war and peace.

Our account of the Muslim conquest of Orissa will not be complete without a reference to the desecration of the Jagannatha temple at Puri by Kalapahara. It is stated in the *Madalapanji* that when the servants of the temple got the information of the fall of Kataka they took out the images of Lord Jagannatha and his associates from the temple and secreted them in an island in the Chilka lake, but Kalapahara got the scent of it. He proceeded thither and placed the images on an elephant and took them to Bengal where he burnt them on the bank of the Ganges. A Vaishnava devotee named Bishar Mahanti followed Kalapahara to the place where the images were burnt and managed to recover the *Brahmas* (probably jewels) inside the images, put them inside a *mridanga* (a kind of drum) and brought them back to Orissa.

It is stated in the same chronicle that Kalapahara destroyed the great temple of Jagannatha up to the *Amalakasila* and defaced the images. It is difficult to ascertain the truth of the statement since the temple is now covered with a thick coat of plaster which has hidden the evidences of destruction and disfigurement, but to us it seems that the temple was not pulled down or razed to the ground, though the images were damaged and disfigured as far as possible. There is no archaeological evidence to show that the temple was rebuilt at any time. The original temple as built by Chodaganga has come down to us, though the carvings on the outer faces of the temple have been damaged and disfigured.

Kalapahara is also represented as the destroyer of several other Hindu monuments of Orissa. As a matter of fact, Kalapahara is a familiar name in Orissa, and all damages of Hindu temples and images, irrespective of their age, are attributed to him. It may be true that Kalapahara actually destroyed a large number of Hindu monuments in Orissa, but it is not a fact that he went to every nook and corner of Orissa with a view to destroy them.

There is a tradition in Bengal that Kalapahara was originally a Hindu brahmin. Dulari, the daughter of the Bengal Sultan, fell in love with him and ultimately married him. Kalapahara had two Hindu wives and he intended to remain a Hindu even though he married a Muslim girl. He came to Puri to perform the cermony of expiation In-

the temple of Jagannatha, but the brahmins did not permit him to perform it. Kalapahara's reaction was very great and, therefore, he became a great fanatic. This tradition has however been challenged by scholars. The name Kalapahara was not peculiar only to the Hindus. A nephew of Bahalul Lodi bore this name. Mr. P. Mukherji observes that "the Muslim chronicles conclusively prove that Kalapahara was a full-blooded Afghan and not a brahmin renegade."

Causes of the decline of Orissa : The rise and fall of nations, like day and night, follow each other in succession. It is however customary to say something about the fall of ruling dynasties of history. We are, therefore, attempting here to ascertain the causes of the decline of Orissa. The Turks invaded and occupied the northern part of India including Bengal and Bihar, towards the close of the twelfth century, but the Hindu kingdom of Orissa maintained its independence up to A.D. 1568 During this period it expanded into an empire which lasted for about a century. During the Hindu supremacy of Orissa innumerable temples were built and the great shrine of Jagannatha acquired an all-India importance. Men of learning and literature of other parts of India took shelter in the court of the Orissan kings. The great saint, Sri Chaitanya, made Orissa the centre of his religious activities. The Hindu kings of Orissa successfully warded off a number of Muslim invasions both from the north and the south. All these achievements assign Orissa a respectable position in the history of India

Prof. R D. Banerjee, however, thinks that a decline in the military spirit of the people and in the power and prestige of Orissa, that became discernible from the beginning of the sixteenth century, was mainly due to the long stay of the Bengali Vaishnava saint Sri Chaitanya at Puri and his supposed great influence on Prataparudradeva. For this conclusion he has relied upon the semi-biographical accounts about the saint, written long after his death. The semi-biographical accounts were obviously written to exaggerate the achievements of Sri Chaitanya and to extol his spiritual powers. Prof. Banerjee writes : "The religious equality and love preached by Sri Chaitanya brought in its train a false faith in men and thereby destroyed structure of society and Government in Bengal and Orissa, because, in reality, no two men are born equal and government depends upon brute force specially in a country like India in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth century A.D. A wave of religious fervour passed over the country and during this reformation Orissa not only lost her empire, but also her political prestige."

Prof. Banerjee's views about the effects of the Vaishnava movement introduced by Sri Chaitanya in Orissa are not shared by other scholars Dr. R. Subrahmanyam says : "It is difficult to agree with Mr. Banerjee when he puts the blame on the influence of Chaitanya for the fall of the Orissan empire. Chaitanya had indeed a great influence on the king; some of the interested people might have tried to exloit the situation" Dr. Subrahmanyam then cites the case of Gopinatha Raya, the Governor of Midnapore, who was sentenced to death by the Gajapati, but who tried to save his life by requesting Sri Chaitanya to intercede for him. The saint refused to interfere in this matter, notwithstanding the fact that Gopinatha Raya's family members were greatly devoted to him. He did not like to involve himself in politics and was even prepared to leave Puri and to go to Allahabad.

Prof. Banerjee's view that Ramananda Raya, the Governor of Rajahmundry, resigned his post due to the religious influence of Sri Chaitanya on him, is also not acceptable Ramananda was already a Vaishnava when he met Sri Chaitanya and in the matters of religion both influenced each other. There is hardly any evidence to show that Ramananda was an unquestioning follower of the Bengali saint and that he resigned his post at the bidding of Sri Chaitanya.

In laying the entire blame on Sri Chaitanya for the fall of Orissa Prof. Banerjee has not examined the other factors leading to its fall. After an examination of the evidences at our disposal it becomes clear that the Oriyas of the sixteenth century neither strictly followed the old form of Vaishnavism as propounded by Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa, Achyutananda Dasa, Yosovanta Dasa and Ananta Dasa, nor the teachings of Sri Chaitanya. It appears that the king and the people had become the lovers and followers of the type of Vaishnavism to be found in Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*. The Vaishnavism of the *Gitagovinda* is not the same as the old Orissan Vaishnavism or the new Gaudiya Vaishnavism as preached by Sri Chaitanya. In the Orissan form of Vaishnavism sex had no place and in the Gaudiya Vaishnavism also sex did not play any great part. Sri Chaitanya wanted to spiritualise the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha, but he never brought it down to the level of satisfying carnal desire; but the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha as depicted in the *Gitagovinda*, has caluminated in the satisfaction of the carnal desire. In fact it is a Sahajiya type of Vaishnavism that has formed the theme of Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda*. This type of Vaishnavism seems to have been

held in great esteem by the king and the people of Orissa in the sixteenth century.

The *Gitagovinda* had been introduced into the Jagannatha temple as an essential ritualistic element from the beginning of the reign of Prataparudradeva, as is proved by his inscription on the Jagannatha temple. Prof. R. D. Banerjee writes about it as follows :

"Prataparudradeva is known from a number of inscriptions discovered at Puri and other places. The earliest of them are to be found on the left hand side of the Jaya Vijaya gate of the *Jagamohana* of the temple of Jagannatha. In the forth *Anka* Wednesday the 17th July. 1499 orders were issued for the performance of dancing at the time of *Bhoga* of Jagannatha and Balarama from the end of the evening *dhupa* to the time of the *Badasingara* or bed time. The dancing girls of Balarama and of Kapilesvara, the old batch and the Telinga batch, all of them were to learn the singing of the *Gitagovinda* only. Besides dancing, four other Vaishnava singers were also to sing from the same work of Jayadeva. It is stated at the end of the record that the Superintendent who allows any other song except those of the *Gitagovinda* will cause a violation of the order of the Jagannatha."

From this inscription it is clear that the king and the people of Orissa had already accepted the Sahajiya form of Vaishnavism of the *Gitagovinda* prior to the comming of Sri Chaitanya to Puri in A.D. 1510. There is hardly any evidence to show that the new Vaishnavism preached by Sri Chaitanya ever ousted or superseded the Sahajiya form of Vaishnavism. The recitation of the *Gitagovinda* with music and dance had already been introduced in the Jagannatha temple from the Ganga period. though the exact date of its introduction cannot be determined. But there is no evidence to show that it was being recited with music and dance in the presence of Lord Jagannatha. It was being sung in some corner of the spacious precincts of the temple. Prataparudradeva, as is evident from the above inscription, made its singing by the female dancers in the presence of Jagannatha compulsory and thus introduced a new feature in the cult of Jagannatha. In the ritualistic performances of the Jagannatha temple sex had never played any part. Jagannatha always appears with his elder brother and younger sister and therefore, according to old conception, amorous or obscene talks or songs were not allowed

in his presence. This principle was violated by making the recitation of Jayadeva's amorous songs compulsory in the presence of Lord Jagannatha. From this time the diversification of the religious faith of the Oriyas was also in evidence. Jagannatha had been conceived as the sole deity of Orissa and also as her real king. He had been conceived as the sole source of inspiration and strength of the entire Oriya nation. This firm faith of the Oriyas in Jagannatha started to be shaken in the later period of Hindu rule in Orissa. His name was utilised in gaining selfish ends, but unflinching faith was not reposed in him.

Sri Chaitanya's preachings did not produce any great effect in uplifting the moral character of the people of the sixteenth century Orissa The early Bhoi rule in Orissa, as sketched by us above, will show that it was a period of traitors, murderers, regicides and patricides. Almost all the able officers of the state aspired to occupy the throne through treachery and murder The history of this period gives a clear indication that the Oriya people had become morally depraved and Sri Chaitanya's new Vaishnavism had not improved their moral character.

It is, therefore, not proper to think or say that Sri Chaitanya's preachings demoralised or demilitarised the Oriya people. There is also no evidence to show that Prataparudra lost his military spirit under the influence of Sri Chaitanya. The account of his reign, given above, will show that he was constantly engaged in warfare till his complete defeat by Krishnadeva Raya in A D. 1519. It is after his treaty with Krishnadeva Raya that he became intensely religious minded. The loss of the empire, the death of his son Virabhadra and the sad plight of his daughter, married to Krishnadeva Raya, must have all combined to depress the military spirit of the king and therefore he found solace in the teachings of Sri Chaitanya who had, without doubt, a great influence on him.

Prataparudradeva's army became exhausted in the long-drawn war between him and Krishnadeva Raya and in fighting in different fronts in a far-flung territory stretching from the Hooghly district in the north to the Nellore district in the south. It seems also that Prataparudradeva became lenient to Govinda Vidyadhara and pardoned his treachery during his fight with Sultan of Bengal. Ordinarily he should have been punished with death, but the king pardoned him and retained him in service. This traitor killed Prataparudra's eighteen sons and established the infamous Bhoi dynasty which hastened the decline of Orissa.

The diversification of religious interest, the falsification of the Jagannatha cult and the general degradation of the moral conduct of the people were, more than other causes, responsible for the fall of Orissa. The fall was so great that her people have not recovered from it till now

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13. Administration

Early Administration : Because of the paucity of evidence the pre-Asokan system of administration in Kalinga cannot be reconstructed. From the time of Asoka a clear picture of the administration prevalent in this land can, however, be obtained from Asoka's inscriptions still existing in India and Orissa. The administration that was introduced into Kalinga after its conquest in 261 B.C. was almost the same as it prevailed in other parts of his empire. A few new features in the imperial administrative system that we get from the Kalinga Edicts of the emperor, seem to have been intended as a concession to a newly conquered people who had fought so bravely against him and had died in thousands. It is from the time of the conquest of Kalinga that the offices of the Dharmmamahamatra appears to have been created by the emperor. The business of this officer was to look after the morals of his subjects in the whole empire. In the Kalinga Edicts Asoka assumes a paternal position even though he was an autocrat, and makas a clear declaration that all subjects are his children and he concerns himself for their welfare in this world and the other as much as he does for his own children. Asoka's conception of kingship thus seems to have been changed from the time of his conquest of Kalinga. A strong autocrat became a benevolent monarch with a paternal attitude towards his subjects. The epoch making Kalinga war had a repercussion not only on the administration of Orissa, but also of India. The names of the officers and their duties connected with his administrative machinery in Kalinga, have been briefly given in Chapter 2 and need not be repeated here.

There is no evidence to show that Kalinga was a republican country at any time of her history. Asoka's inscriptions do not give any indication that Kalinga was a republican country prior to its conquest by him. He refers to the people of this country as Kalingas as much as he does to the Cholas, Pandyas, Satyaputras and Kerala-putras, etc. and from this reference an inference should not be made that the people of Kalinga enjoyed a republican system of Government. Asoka left in Kalinga a monarchical and imperial form of Government as the legacy, which was followed by all subsequent ruling dynasties of Orissa.

Chedi Administration : After the Mauryas the Chedi dynasty, of which Kharavela was the third member, established, like Asoka, a monarchical and imperial system of Government. Kharavela was no doubt a full-fledged autocrat, but like Asoka worked for the welfare of his subjects. His Government was bureaucratic as is evident from the names of a few of his high officers appearing in the short Brahmi inscriptions of his time, engraved on the Udayagiri caves. The description of Kharavela's early life given in the Hatigumpha Inscription shows that a would be king had to prepare himself for rulership in his early life by learning such essential things as writing, law, accountancy and coinage. The king had to undergo a coronation ceremony at the time of ascending the throne. The Hatigumpha Inscription provides further evidence that a king had to work for the benefits of his subjects by repairing ancient buildings, by constructing new ones, by excavating canals, by entertaining his subjects and in feasts, merry-makings and by remitting taxes. It has not been mentioned in the Hatigumpha Inscription whether the booties obtained from the conquests of other countries were shared by the monarch with the soldiers and the subjects, but it can be presumed that the monarch shared them with others. Kharavela's military machinery consisted of the time-honoured fourfold divisions of infantry, cavalry, elephants and chariots. The names of the military officers, manning this machinery, have not come down to us.

Mathara Administration : The Matharas, the contemporaries of the imperial Guptas, established a system of administration which appears to be similar to the Gupta system of administration. The Matharas were autocratic, but their powers seem to have been checked by an elaborate bureaucracy. Though they later assumed imperial powers, they satisfied themselves with the title of *Maharaja* and none of them assumed a number of high-sounding titles like those of the Guptas. They seem to have had no provincial divisions. The district was known as *Panchali* or *Bhoga*. From their copper plate grants we get the names of important civil officers like *Amatya* (the Minister), *Kumara-Amatya* (a junior cadre of Minister), *Talavara* (Revenue Officer), *Desakshapatala* (the Record Keeper), *Mahapratihara* (the Chamberlain), *Ajna Bhogika* (the Registrar) and *Dutaka* (the Executor of Royal orders). The most important military officers were *Mahavaladhikrita* (the Supreme Head of the army), *Mahadandanayaka* (the Commander-in-Chief), *Dandanayaka* (the General) and *Dandaneta* (the Commander of a contingent).

Bhauma Administration : As observed earlier, there is no evidence to show that the Guptas established their direct rule over Orissa, but the system of administration which they established, seems to have been adopted even in the countries not directly under their rule. In the administration of the post-Gupta dynasties ruling over Orissa we find certain elements, particularly in the names of the officers, which seem to have been borrowed from the imperial system of the Gupta administration. The Bhaumas had a number of officers whose powers and functions appear to have been the same as those of the imperial officers of the Guptas. The names of the officers mentioned in the Taltali Plate of Dharmmamahadevi (Indian Historical Quarterly, Vol. XXI) indicate a highly developed bureaucratic government of the Bhauma State, like the one revealed by the copper plates of the late Gupta dynasty found in northern Bengal, such as the Damodarapur Copper plates. We have here *Mahasamanta* (the lord of the feudal chiefs), *Maharaja* (probably the governor of a province), *Kumaramatya* (the kinsman of the king employed as a high officer), *Uparika* (the district officer), *Visayapati* (the subdivisional officer), *Ayuktaka* (?), *Dandapasika* (the chief police officer), *Sthanantarika* (probably the officer in charge of the criminal department), *Valahita* (the commander-in-chief), *Samanta* (the feudal chief),*Samavaji* (probably the commander of the cavalry), *Vrihadbhogi*, (the chief headman), *Pustapala* (the chief record keeper), and *Sadhyadhi-karana* (the law court). Some of these terms are still being used in Orissa either in their original or currupt forms. In Angul from which the Plate hails . *Visa* the currupted form of *Visaya*. is still a synonym of the *Pargana* and *Visoi* (*Visayapati*), in many parts of Orissa, is still used to denote an officer connected with the revenue or the head of a caste. *Samanta* or *Santa* is a common title used by the land. owning aristocratic families of the province. *Danduasi*, undoubtedly a currupted form of *Dandapasika*, is even now applied to the village chowkidar in Orissa.

There were feudatories of the Bhauma rulers but the exact nature of the relation between them is not known. In the Ganjam Plate of the Ganga king Jayavarmadeva a reference has been made to the overlord Unmata Kesari of Viraja who has been identified with the Bhauma king Sivakaradeva Unmatasimha. From this reference it is obvious that the feudatories had to refer to their overlord in their copper plate grants. In their internal administration they however seem to have been completely free. It seems that the feudatories not only paid tributes, but also supplied to the overlord a stipulated number of soldiers at the time of

war. In the Bhauma copper plate grants there are references to the assemblies of the feudatory chiefs who waited upon their overlords on the ceremonial occasions such as coronation.

Somavamsi Administration : The Somavasmi records also mention the names of some officers who were addressed by the king at the time of granting lands to the brahmins. The names of these officers and the nature of their duties do not seem to have differed much from those of the Bhauma officers. The Somavamsi rulers, like the Bhaumas, were autocrats, but the big officers of the state seem to have had a voice in the important matters of the State. It is the popular voice and the support of the ministers that went in favour of the selection of Yayati II as the king of the Somavamsi kingdom, even though he had no legal claim to the throne. It is the high officers who sometimes seem to have been instrumental in the matters of changing the kings and the royal families. Yayati II's appointment as king is an instance in the point, if that tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji* is to be delieved, Karnadeva, the last king of the Somavamsi dynasty, was defeated and dethroned through the treachery of his own commander-in-chief Vasudeva Vahinipati. It is stated that Vasudeva invited the Ganga king Chodagangadeva to invade Orissa and to drive out the last Somavamsi king. The Ganga king accepted his invitation and came to Orissa in disguise with a handful of followers and conquered the Somavamsi capital Kataka with the assistance of the treacherous commander-in-chief Vasudeva. The high officers were thus sometimes responsible for the change of the ruling dynasties.

Ganga Administration : In the Ganga administration we find a mixture of northern and southern influences. In the administration of the Early Gangas the southern influence predominated but the later Gangas formed a mixed form of administration, in which both the influences are to be noticed The king was the highest authority of the state and enjoyed absolute powers even though he took the advice of his ministers, commanders and local chiefs. He assumed the title *Maharajadhiraja* and had a regular hierarchy of several classes of officials functioning in different administrative units. The kingdom was divided into *Mahamandalas* or great provinces in which *Maharanakas* or *Mahamandalikas* were appointed. The *Mahamandalas* were divided into a number of *Mandalas* or smaller provinces and each of them was placed under a *Ranaka* or *Mandalika*. The *Mandalas* were divided into *Nadus* or *Visayas* or *Bhogas* and they were each under a *Visayapati* or the

chief officer of the district. The *Nadus* consisted of several hundred gramas or villages, in each of which there was a *Gramika* or the head of the village. The big villages were subdivided into *Pallis* or hamlets. In the Ganga empire there were several *Nagaras* or cities and *Puras* or towns. The names of some cities that we get from different sources, are Kalinganagara, Bhogapura, Dantapura, Simhapura, Pishtapura and Dakiremi. The names of the sea-port towns were Kalingapattana, Visakhapattana and Bhimilipattana.

Some villages of the *Nadus* which were granted to the brahmins, temples, ministers or commanders, were made rent-free and on the occassion of granting them the king informed all his chiefs and officers of the nature of the grants and instructed them not to infringe in any manner on the rights granted to the donees. The donees were not only exempted from the payment of royal dues, but also six kinds of taxes and from all obstacles like the entry of regular and irregular soldiers in the donated villages. The villages, the lowest units of the administration, were self-governing, and each of which was under the charge of *Gramika* who was helped by other village officials like the *Karana* (Accountant), *Purohita* (Priest), *Dandapasi* or *Talvari* (Police man), *Urikavali* (village Watchman) and *Gramabhata* (village servant). In the town *Puravari* (Head of the town) was the chief officer and he was being helped by *Dandanayaka* (Magistrate), *Dandapasi* (Police Inspector) and other officials. In the capital city of Kalinganagara there were great officers like *Kalinganagaradhyaksha* (President or Superintendent of the capital city of Kalinga), *Kalingarakshapalaka* (Prefect of the city), *Kalinganagara-palaka* (Chairman of the city), *Rajaguru* (Royal Priest), *Mahapradhani* (Prime Minister), *Mahasandhivigrahi* (Secretary General for peace and war), *Mahasenapati* (Commander-in-Chief), *Mulabhandaramuna-mudra-hasta* (Chancellor of the privy purse), *Mahadandapasi* (Inspector General of Police), *Mahamandalika* (Governor General) and *Mahapatra*. Both in towns and villages higher officers supervised the duties of the officers of the lower ranks. There are evidences to show that there were departments of records under officers. At the capital there was also an officer who was the keeper of the privy seal.

The king derived his revenue from crown lands which yeilded probably one sixth of the produce. In addition he also obtained a large revenue from court fees, fines, customs dues and tolls, taxes levied on mines and forests, gifts and presents. The revenue thus obtained was spent on administration, on religion and learning, on public works and

on the king's own household. (*R. Subba Rao—The History of the Eastern Gangas of Kalinga, pp. 148-152*). Various types of coins and weights and measures were also used, which we shall discuss at some length in Chapter 14.

When the Gangas transferred their capital from Kalinganagara to Varanasi Kataka (modern Cuttack), they had to make some changes in their administrative system by introducing certain new offices and some new designations. This is evident from the copperplate records of the later Ganga kings. The two copper plate grants of Narasimha IV discovered in the town of Puri give some designations of the officers which are not to be found in earlier records of the dynasty, e. g., *Budha-Lenka, Pura-pariksha, Sri-Karana, Purosri-Karana, Bhitra-Bhandara-Adhikari, etc.* (R.D. Banerjee, *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, pp. 248-285),

From the reign of Anangabhimadeva III a theocratic conception gained ground in Orissa, and it was believed that the Lord Jagannatha was the real king of this country and the kings were his deputies. Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238) formally declared that he was the representative of Lord Jagannatha. This theocratic conception continued throughout the Hindu rule in Orissa and the kings considered themselves to be the servants of Jagannatha. Since this deity was in the hands of the Brahmins they gained a political influence through him. They became the interpreter of the will of the deity and sometimes it was given out by them that lord Jagannatha had issued his commands to them in dreams. When a political change took place the Brahmins approved of it and told the people that the change represented the will of Jagannatha. They thus approved of the usurpation of the Ganga throne by Kapilendradeva and the succession of the Purushottamadeva to the exclusion of Hamvira. During the rule of the Bhois and the Chalukyas the same tactics was followed by the priests.

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Suryavamsi administration : The Suryavamsis mainly based their administration on that of the Gangas and introduced a few innovations. The king enjoyed the supreme power in the state, but his powers were, to some extent, checked by the ministers and generals and the priestly class who, as observed earliar, were the custodians of Lord Jagannatha. The Suryavamsi rulers also subscribed to the theocratic conception that Lord Jagannatha was the real king of Orissa and they were their deputies. Kapilendra, Purushottama and Prataparudra in the

beginning of their reigns paid homage to this great deity and presented certain objects to him and recognized him as their overlord. When the feudatories became disobedient to him Kapilendra went to the temple of lord Jagannatha and engraved an order on the *Jagamohana* invoking the name of Jagannatha and declaring that the chiefs revolting against him, would actually rebel against this great deity. From the reign of Kapilendra the Suryavamsi kings assumed high-sounding titles such as *Maharajadhiraja, Paramesvara, Gajapati, Gaudesvara, Navakoti Karnata Kalavargesvara* etc. Kapilendra first assumed these titles after his conquests in Bengal, the Bahamani kingdom and the Vijayanagara empire and all these titles were continued by his son and grandson and even by the Bhoi rulers.

The empire established by Kapilendra was a large one extending from the Hooghly in the north to the Pennar in the south and the whole of it was known as *Maharajya*. The smaller divisions of the empire were known as *Rajyas, Dandapatas, Vishayas or Khandas*. Both in north and south Orissa there were a number of these political divisions and subdivisions, the names of which have come down to us from inscriptions. In the greater political divisions like the *Rajyas*, the princes of royal blood were generally employed as Governors or Viceroys.

The officer in charge of the *Dandapata* was known as *Dandapariksha* or *Adhyaksha*. The Governors of *Rajyas* were called *Rajas* and sometimes also as *Parikshas*. The Governors lived in state as much as the kings did.

The Gajapati kings had under them a very large number of feudatories of whom the Chalukyas of Panchadharala in the Visakhapatanam district, the Matsyas of Oddadi in the same district and the Suryavamsis of Jeypore in modern Koraput district were most prominent. The nature of the relation between the king and the chiefs is not known from any source, but it seems that they not only paid tributes to the Gajapati but also rendered feudal services to him by furnishing troops to him and by fighting for him in the battle field. There were other smaller feudatory chiefs in the southern and northern parts of the empire. The *Gadjat* chiefs living in the hilly parts of Orissa, were also under the Gajapati and rendered feudal services to him, but when the central authority was weak, they virtually became independent in their inaccessible jurisdictions. Even during the reign of Kapilendra they seem to have asserted their independence and that is why the Gajapati had to engrave a proclamation in the temple of Jagannatha asking them in the

name of the great deity to remain loyal to him. The sources of the revenues of the king will be discussed in Chapter 14.

Military Administration

Earlier military system : A strong military organisation was an indispensible concomitant of a strong state, which was necessary both for its protection and expansion. We have seen that strong kingdoms were established in Orissa in different stages of her history and from this an inference can be made that strong military systems also existed. The details of such systems are, however, hardly known to us. In the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. one lakh of soldiers died fighting in the battle field and one lakh and fifty thousand were carried away as captives. These figures give an indication of the enormous size of the army possessed by Kalinga at the time of Asoka's invasion, but we know little of its details. As observed earlier, Kharavela possessed a vast army consisting of infantry, cavalry, elephant and chariot with which he marched towards the west in the second year of his reign. Beyond these few facts we know nothing of his organisation, but his numerous conquests suggest the size of his army, which must have been a vast one. Yuan Chwang tells us that the country of Kongoda, of which the Sailodbhavas were the rulers, possessed a vast army which kept the neighbours in awe. From the accounts of the Arab and Persian geographers we come to know that the Bhauma rulers possessed a vast army numbering three hundred thousand men. These earlier references give us an idea about the size of tha armies possessed by the earlier ruling dynasties of Orissa, but they do not enable us to know the details of the militray organisations.

Ganga and Suryavamsi Military Organisation : Even though we know from different sources a few facts about the Ganga military administration, we are unable to form a clear picture of it. The Suryavamsi records however enable us to form a clear picture of their military organisations. The Suryavamsis inherited from the Gangas a well-organised military system which was improved upon and made a very strong force that accounted for their success in building up an empire. In the reign of Kapilendradeva Orissa was virtually made a military state and all the castes and communities were called upon to render military service at the time of emergency. The Brahmins seem to have been exempted from a compulsory military service, but even then some Brahmins entered into the army as big and small officers. If the *Madalapanji* is to be believed, the traitor Vasudeva Ratha, a Brahmin,

was the commander-in-chief of the last Somavamsi king and it is through his treachery that Chodaganga succeeded in conquering Orissa. In the Chatesvara Inscription Vishnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva III (A.D. 1211-1238), is represented to have led an army against the Kalachuris of Ratnapura and to have succeeded in wresting the Sonepur tract from them. In the Gopinathapura Stone Inscription Gopinatha Mahapatra is represented to have been a Brahmin minister and general of Kapilendradeva. From these evidences it is clear that Brahmins also occupied high posts in the army, though they, as a rule, were exempted from compulsory military service. The other castes had no option but to serve in the military organisation as officers and soldiers.

As is apparent from Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata*, which, as we have seen, was composed in the reign of Kapilendra, a belief was created in the minds of the Oriyas that dying in the battle field was the surest way to go to the heaven. To die in the battle field with weapons in hands, has been considered by the poet to be a most religious and meritorious act, which, according to him, provides for the person so dying a secure place in the heaven and exempts him, from the serious sins committed in this world. In the *Sabha Parva* Narada tells Srikrishna the ways with which a man killing a Brahmin can escape from this terrible sin, and prescribes *inter alia* death in the battle field while fighting with weapons in hands. The poet lays great emphasis on the necessity of begetting male children and has nothing to say about the necessity for female ones. The birth of a son was a joyous occasion which he has sometimes described in detail, but has ignored the occassions of the birth of daughters. According to him a wife without male children is unlucky and inauspicious and for her he prescribes in the *Adi Parva* of his *Mahabharata* eight ways for begetting sons. Since a very large number of young men were required for the army and many of them were losing their lives in the battle field, we can easily understand the poet's partiality for male children and his anxiety for increasing the male population. The protection of the state and its expansion were the joint responsibilities of the entire population and not of the king alone. Militarism penetrated into all ranks of the society and all able-bodied persons were called upon to perform military service. The king had a standing army, but the number of the local militia was far greater than the number of the soldiers in the standing army. Besides, the feudal lords also supplied to the king a stipulated number of soldiers at the time of war and had to fight for him in the battle field.

A vast number of the Oriyas and even the Adivasis and Harijans still bear military titles which their ancestors must have received from the Gajapatis. It seems that, even though some people did not actually serve in the army, they received honorary military titles from the monarch for helping him in some way or other in perfecting his military organisation. Among the local militia the vast majority were cultivators who took to cultivation at the time of peace and turned into soldiers at the time of war. A rough survey indicates that about fifty percent of the people of Orissa still bear military titles, of which a few examples are cited below: *Senapati, Chamupati* (Champati), *Routarya* (the commander of the cavalry), *Sahani* (the commander of the elephant force), *Dandapata, Dandasena, Paschima Kavata, Uttara Kavata* etc. (the guardians of the marches), *Samantaraya, Vidyadhara, Bhramaravara, Harichandana, Jagaddeva, Marddaraja, Samantasimhara, Raya Simha, Manasimha, Valiyarasimha, Pahadasimha Nayaka, Pattanayaka, Dandanayaka, Gadanayaka, Patra, Mahapatra, Behera, Dalabehera, Jena, Badajena, Pradhana, Samala, Rauta, Khuntia Parichha, Parija, Padhihari, Dandapani* etc.

Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* also gives us an idea about the different divisions of the Gajapati army on march. The first division was known as the *Hantakaru Dala* i.e. the pioneer force clearing jungles and making roads; the second was known as the *Aguani Thata* i.e the advance units; the third was *Pradhana Vala* i.e. the main army and the fourth division was *Pachhiani Thata* i.e. the rear guards. The king and the big military officers were furnishad with bodyguards who were known as *Angavalas*; and the detachments which were placed in charge of the captured forts and conquered territories, were known as *Paridandas*. Sarala Dasa also gives us a picture of an army on the move, in which flags and other decorative devices were used and the musical instruments such as *Damalu, Dadama Tamaka, Bijighosa, Daundi, Ghumura, Bheri, Turi, Ranasinga* etc. were sounded. The weapons used have been given as *Dhanu, Trona, Sara, Asi Parigha, Patiisa, Kunta, Jathi, Guruja, Saveli*, etc.

The above few facts are gleaned from Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* which is not a historical work, but though these facts occur in connection with the fights among different characters of his *Mahabharata*, we may be sure that in making such references he was merely drawing upon his own knowledge and experience gained in actual wars. From the poet's description we also gather that the gateways and the walls of the forts

used to be breached with the help of horses, elephants, crow-bars and shovels.

The forts : The forts played a vital role in the military system of the Gajapatis. The Orissan kings occupied the old forts or established new ones in the entire stretch of their empire. In the north the great forts that were in their occupation, were Mandaran which is now known as Bhitargarh, situted in the Arambagh subdivision of the Hooghly district of West Bengal; Kotisamigarh, variously described as Kotasin, Katasin etc. which is now known as Kotsimul situated on the west bank of the river Damodara, and Raivania and Deulgaon in the Balasore district. In the Cuttack and Puri districts several forts which existed from earlier times, were also utilised during this period. They are Jajpur Kataka, Amaravati Kataka (near Chhatia), Chaudwar Kataka, Varanasi Kataka (modern Cuttack) and Chudanga Kataka or Sarangagarh near Barang. Kasiagarh, situated on the road from Chandaka to Khurda near the village Dalua, was also a great fort which was probably meant to conceal troops in the dense forest at the time of war. Besides these big forts, there were also smaller ones which have been referred to by Abul Fazl in his *Ain-i-Akabari*. In south Orissa ancient forts of considerable importance existed at Humma, Khimidi, Chikiti, Palur, Khallikot and Athagarh. In the conquered territories of the south great forts existed at Rajahmundry, Undrakonda in the Krishna district, Kondapalli near Bezwada in the Krishna district, Adanki in the Ongole Taluk, Vinukonda in the Vinukonda Taluk, Vellamkonda in the Sattenapalle Taluk, Nagarjunakonda on the bank of the river Krishna, Tangeda in the Palnad Taluk and Ketavarman in the Sattenpalle Taluk. In Telingana the great fort of Devarakonda. situated in the Nalgonda district, and also the famous fort of Warangal were in the occupation of the feudatories of Gajapatis. But the forts of Udayagiri in Nellore district and Kondavidu near Guntur, were the strongest of all occupied by the Orissan kings. The occupation of these two great forts by Krishnadeva Raya decided the fate of the Gajapati empire in the south.

About the size of the Gajapati army different sources give us different accounts which may not repressnt the actual number of men and animals employed in it. The Muslim sources have sometimes exaggerated or sometimes belittled its number. In the *Burhan-i-Ma'nasir* it is stated that Kapilendra possessed elephants numbering two hundred thousand, which is obviously an exaggeration. Nizam-ud-din tells us

that Purushottamadeva had encamped on the bank of Godavari with 7,00,000 foot soldiers. Azizullah writes that Kapilendra attacked Bidar with only ten thousand foot soldiers, which appears to be an absurdly small number. The figures given by the Portuguese writer Nuniz appear to be more reliable. He states that the king of Orissa opposed Krishnadeva Raya with an army of thirteen hundred elephants and twenty thousand horses. "The people of Otisa" writes Nuniz "are very good fighting men." The king of Otisa 'has a mighty army of foot soldiers."

In one section of the *Rayavachakam* an account of the feats of strength exhibited in the Gymnasia at the Capital of the Gajapati has been given. This account was given to the Vijayanagara emperor Krishnadeva Raya by his spies, who had been employed by him for ascertaining the military strength of the Gajapati Prataparudradeva. Some southern scholars have considered the account to be an exaggerated one. Even granting that it is an exaggerated one, we have to respect the basic truth that the Oriyas of the time possessed great physical strength and were capable of showing wonderful physical feats. We reproduce below a summary of this account as given in *Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol III, pp. 111 :

"We entered the city, and saw the palace of the Gajapati, the mansions of the sixteen *Patras*, the Gymnasia and the people who take exercises therein. Even the gods and the demons are not capable of exhibiting such skill in physical exercises as they show. Your Majesty might have observed the skill in physical exercises shown by the great wrestlers of other countries; but the style of the people at the capital of the Gajapati is totally different. They alone are capable of lifting up such heavy dumb-bells. They lift them up, and what is more, they lift them up cross-wise. They raise a sack weighing 10 *vaddes* to the height of the uplifted arm of a standing man and throw it upon their own bodies. Moreover, they catch the sack between their thighs, and suspend themselves in the air taking hold of the cross-beam (of the gymnasium). The reason for taking this exercise is this : While engaged in battle, the troopers are accustomed to carry away their opponents bodily imprisoning them between one of their arms and the body; if, however, the opponents fight without losing their hold on their steeds, they abandon their attempt, considering the opponent to be unmanageable. The riders on the armoured horses are not afraid of any wound which they might receive.

They attempt to carry away under their arm such riders (?). The soldiers practise this exercise in order to remain firm courageously (in their seats) on such occasions. They completely demolish walls of hundered feet with a *rummi mattakhandam* (?) which is heavy enough to be carried by a man on his head. They also cut with that sword strong tamarind pillars as easily as they cut the pitch of the plantain trees Planting two crow-bars together on the ground they cut them to pieces with their sword. They bring a basketfull of cymbal-discs, and twist four or five of them together. As the blacksmiths are not able to separate them, they place them on the anvil, and detach them (wih the aid of the hammer), and bring them again in good condition for the next day's use. Moreover, they break iron clubs at any given point. The wrestlers of the country who go there return with a feeling that it is not possible for them to cope with their methods of taking exercise. The wealth and strength of that place cannot be seen anywhere else."

As observed earlier, the entire population partcipated in the military system built up by the successive Orissan kings. During the reign of Kapilendradeva this total militarisation reached its peak, and was based on a stern discipline, an unquestioning obedience to the king and above all, on the single-minded devotion to Lord Jagannatha who was conceived to be the only source of all powers and all inspirations. The slackness in discipline and the diversification of religious interest which slackened the single-minded devotion to Lord Jagannatha, started from the reign of Prataparudradeva and these factors undermined the military character of the Oriyas who sank into obscurity after the loss of their independence in A.D. 1568

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14. Socio-Economic Condition

Socio-Economic Condition of the earlier period

Asoka's inscriptions in Orissa do not throw any light on the socio-economic condition of the people of Kalinga. The references to the number of casualities in the Kalinga war and the type of administration introduced by him after it, do not enable us to form an idea about the socio-economic condition of the people. It however seems that the people were not only militarily strong and stubborn, but also they had a strong and stable socio-economic system which excited the jealousy and cupidity of the Magadhan emperor. We have given in Chapter 19 an account of the maritime activities of the people of Kalinga, which appear to have given to them prosperity that enabled them to challenge the Magadhan imperialism.

That the great fort, now known as Sisupalagarh, existed at the time of Asoka, is attested to by the antiquities unearthed by the excavations carried on here in the year 1947-48, which take the origin of the city back to the fourth century B.C. when the Magadhan empire was in existence in north India. We have already referred to the unique features of the construction of this fort which is square in shape, measuring three quarters of a mile on each side. The rampart wall was twenty-five feet in thickness and had on each side two elaborately constructed gates, flanked by high watch towers. Such a planned ancient fort has not been traced in any part of India and therefore the constructors of the fort were not only original in planning cities, but also seem to have been economically capable of financing their constructions. The excavations carried on here were in the nature of soundings which revealed the unique features of one of its western gateways and the remains of a few buildings and roads inside the fort. The excavated structural remains inside the fort represented the buildings of the ordinary citizens, which as in other ancient cities of India, were of modest dimensions. With these data we cannot formulate a theory about the opulence or the poverty of the people. The excavations unearthed a gold coin which was used as an

ornament and which clearly imitates a type of gold coins of the Kushana emperor Vasudeva I. We have already spoken of the historical importance of this coin, but it also shows that the people of the ancient Kalinga were fond of gold ornaments. The excavations resulted in the discovery of clay ornaments and clay bullae which were used by the humbler people. The clay bullae are reported to have been found in Rajaghat (near Venaras) and Kosam (near Allahabad), but these objects have been recovered in greater profusion from the southern sites. As observed earlier in another respect the ancient sites of Sisupalagarh showed a remarkable homogeneity with other ancient sities of the south. It is the total absence of the terracotta toys which form the major part of the excavator's finds in northern India. The relics excavated in this ancient city throw side-light on a socio-economic system which was more southern than northern.

Punch-marked coins are reported to have been found from a number of places in Orissa, *viz.* Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar, Khiching in Mayurbhanj and Asuragarh in Kalahandi. As of northern India, these coins represent the earliest currency of Orissa. Stray Kushana and Gupta coins have been discovered in Orissa, but they do not prove that they were the currency of Orissa in the periods of the Kushana and Gupta imperialism. We have already spoken of the so-called Puri Kushana coins which by their frequency and profusion of occurrence clearly indicate that they were at one time the currency of Orissa. They seem to have ceased to be current in this country from the fourth century A.D. It may be noted that the coins were not the main media of trade in earlier times in Orissa as in other parts of India. It is the barter system which formed the basis of trade and commerce.

From the Hatigumpha Inscription it is apparent that coins were being used in the age of Kharavela. In this epigraph we find the reference to the exact number of coins with which the gates and the ramparts of Kalinganagara, destroyed by a cyclone, were reconstructed by Kharavela, but unfortunately the coins of Kharavela's age have not been discovered anywhere. The Hatigumpha Inscription speaks of music, dance and merry-making with which the citizens were being entertained by Kharavela at times and it also speaks of the feasts in which meat and wine might have been served. The sculptures of the earlier group of the cave temples at Udayagiri and Khandagiri give us some indications about the people of

Kharavela's age, who appear to have been jolly ones, frequently indulging in music, dance, merry-making and hunting. They were also immensely fond of ornaments which were being used in large numbers both by men and women. The garments used by them, however, appear to have been of humble type. The kings and the members of the royal family wore crowns, coronates and tiaras. The Hatigumpha Inscription and the sculptures of Udayagiri combine to furnish a socio-economic picture of Kharavela's age, which appears to be a splendid one.

The Bhadrak Inscription of Gana (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 327) records the donation of three pieces of garments, one pedestal and two pieces of gold to Parnnadevati by a lady named Ranghali in the eighth regnal year of Maharaja Surasarma. Since the mere mention of the number of gold pieces does not convey an accurate idea about their quantity or value, it has been made clear by the succeeding expression *data suna pa* 80 i.e. the donated gold being 80 *panas*. *Pana* is a weight of copper used as coin equivalent to 20 *mashas* or four *kakinis* and *pana* also means a copper coin. The epigraph belongs to the third century A.D. and, therefore, it is evident that coins were in currency in Orissa even prior to the Gupta age The three pieces of garments presented to the deity might have been of cotton or silk.

We glean a few facts about the socio-economic condition of the people from the Bhauma copper plate inscriptions. A passage in the Talcher Plate of Sivakaradeva of the year 149 has been translated by Pandit B. Misra as follows :

"The village has been divided into three shares. One share is (alloted) for perpetual offering of oblation, sandal paste, flowers, incense, lamp, *vali, charu*, and oblation to the god Budhabhattaraka, enshrined in the temple dedicated to Buddhabhattaraka and built by Amubhattaka and for the maintenance of the servants and again for supplying the ten attendants of female mendicants with garments, pot for offering the oblation, bedsteads and medicines against the malady. The second share is (intended) for the repair of dilapidation. And the third share is (set apart) for the maintenance of the family of *Danapati*".

From this account it is clear that sandal paste, flowers, incense, lamp, *vali, charu*, and oblation were being used as offerings to the gods and goddesses as they are done today. Garments, bedsteads, medicines

against malady were also used as they are done today. The Bhauma rulers perhaps received one sixth of the gross produce of the land as the state due, but they also levied additional taxes from weavers, cowherds, distillers of spirituous liquors, hamlets, landing places on the bank of the river, ferry-places and thickets. The right to levy these taxes was granted by the rulers to the donees of the rent-free villages. The mention of the boundaries of the villages granted to the Brahmins and gods, indicates that there was some sort of land survey.

In the Bhauma age women occupied a higher position. We have already referred to the fact that as many as six women ruled over the Bhauma state as full-fledged sovereign monarchs. We have already stated that the Bhaumas being a people of tribal origin conceded to their female members the right of succession which was not enjoyed by the female members of other Indian royal dynasties of the age. In the subsequent periods of the Orissan history the female members of the royal families did not enjoy such a high status in the state or the society. We get some references in the Bhauma epigraphic records that the female rulers presided over the assembly of their feudatories, but from these references it also become clear that they put on female garments, used jewels and gold ornaments and dyed their feet with *alaktaka*. In the later history of Orissa we find that Kolavati Devi, mother of the Somavamsi king Udyotakesari, built the temple of Brahmesvara and Chandrika Devi, daugater of Anangabhimadeva- III also built the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva in A. D. 1278. The latter has been represented as a lady well versed in music and dance. Jagamohini, daughter of Prataparudradeva, who was married to Krishnadeva Raya, was well versed in Sanskrit and could compose verses in this language. From various temple inscriptions we get the names of a number of ladies who made offerings to the deities and recorded them in stone, but their status in the society is not known to us.

Socio-economic condition in the Ganga and Suryavamsi periods: The Ganga kings received the usual one sixth of the produce from the land-holders but in addition they also obtained a large revenue from court fees, fines etc., which we have mentioned earlier. Mr. R. Subba Rao mentions the different types of coins that were used in Ganga period and which have been referred to in the inscriptions. They are *Madas, Gaṇda madas, Mall madas, Matsya madas, Ganga madas, Chiruganda madas, Padmanidhiganda madas, Kulottunga madas,*

Chinnema, Fanams, Gold tankas, Silver tankas, Sasukani tankas, Matsya gandyas and *Nilandhas*. But all these types of coins have not come down to us. Only two types of coins which have actually been discovered and which are known as the Gajapati pagodas and the Ganga *Fanams*, are generally assigned to the Ganga period.

The socio-economic condition of the Suryavamsi period is almost the same as that of the Ganga period. We are however in a better position to know some details of this condition from the literary sources of the period. The king was not only the head of the administration, but he also occupied a pivotal position in the society. He set an example to the rest of the society about the ideal life to be lived by all men. The *Rayavachakam* gives us an interesting account of the daily routine of the Gajapati monarch, which has been quoted by Dr. R. Subrahmanyam as follows.

"He used to get up from the bed early in the morning two hours before the sun rise and salute two Brahmanas first before looking at any other person. Then accompanied by the Sixteen *Patras* he used to go on a ride of about twenty or thirty miles and then return to the palace. After taking his bath he engaged himself in daily worship of Lord Jagannatha. Then he had his midday meals. After food he used to recite '*Samkshepa Ramayana*'. Then putting on offical robes bedecked with jewels he used to sit in the court and transact his daily business."

This account was given to the Vijayanagara emperor by the spies appointed by him and, therefore, coming as it does from an enemy source, it should not be disbelieved. The Suryavamsi kings led this ideal life, but the Bhoi monarchs seem to have deviated from it.

The articles of luxury used by the kings and members of their families can be gleaned from a few contemporary inscriptions which record the presents made to the deities by them. In A. D. 1466 Kapilendradeva presented certain objects to the temple of Jagannatha which were obviously meant for all the three deities Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra. They included *Kanaphula* (earrings), *Mukuta* (crown), *Moti jali* (hair-net embroidered with pearls), *Kanthimala* (necklace set with pearls and emeralds), *Manika suta* (gold strings), three-rowed necklaces with *Padak* (pendant) of a ruby parrot, *Ratnahara, Todara* set with pearls (anklet with chains), *Mudi* (finger rings set with precious stones),

Bahuti (armlet), *Bala* bracelet), *Kankana* (another type of bracelet), *Kati-mekhala* (girdle), and *Padapallava* (a type of ornament for feet). He also presented a piece of *Uttariya* for the use of Jagannatha. In the first year of his reign Purushottamdeva also made certain presents to the temple of Jagannatha which included ivory couches. ornamented throne with flags and jars, ornamented umbrella, ornomented bedstead, golden-handled brooms, ornamented-handled *chauris*, ornamented ear-rings, ornamented mirror etc. We may be sure that these articles of luxury were also used by the kings and the members of his family. The ordinary citizens satisfied themselves with the lower types of ornaments and luxury objects to which plenty of references have been made in Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* and Balarama Dasa's *Ramayana*.

The king were polygamous, but excepting the aristocratic class, the other citizens were generally monogamous. The queens observed *purdah* as is evident from the *Chaitnya-Charitamrita* which speaks of the wives of Prataparudradeva being carried on the back of elephants in covered litters. The girls married very early, sometimes at the age of seven. Parents selected bridegrooms for their daughters. The Oriya epics mentioned above, refere to marriage ceremonies in detail and these details are not very different from the present marriage ceremonies. Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* presents a vivid picture of the socio-economic condition during the rule of the Suryavamsi kings, but the details given by him can hardly be dealt with in the present work.

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15. Sanskrit Literature

The inscriptions of Asoka and Kharavela in Orissa, which are the earliest epigraphs of this country, are not in Sanskrit. The Bhadrak Inscription of Gana, which is only next to the Hatigumpha Inscription in point of antiquity, is in Prakrit. It, therefore, becomes difficult to ascertain the position of the Sanskrit literature in Orissa in the earliest part of her history. From the fifth century A. D. onwards we however come across a series of inscriptions from which we get an idea about the spread of the Sanskrit literature in this country. All the early epigraphic records of Orissa belonging to the Gupta and post-Gupta periods have been written in Sanskrit prose and the texts are almost free from mistakes, which indicates that the composer possessed a very good knowldge in the Sanskrit language.

From the seventh century A. D. the epigraphic records in Orissa came to be composed and written mostly in Sanskrit poetry, though they are sometimes found both in prose and poetry. The texts of the epigraphs give us an idea that the composers were vastly learned in the Sanskrit literature. The rulers of medieval Orissa generally maintained good Sanskritists in their courts and these Sanskritists composed the epigraphs which have come down to us. We may reproduce here a few examples from the epigraphic texts to show that the composers were very learned people. The Bhauma copper plate grants in their *prasasti* portions provide us with very good specimens of Sanskrit poetry. That the composers were influenced by the great Sanskrit poets of ancient India, is evident from these texts. From the Bhauma period the Orissan Sanskritists seem to have developed a love for composing poetry sometimes giving double meanings, a love which they seem to have borrowed from Bharavi and Magha. We give here an extract from the Taltali Plate of Dharmmamahadevi, edited by the present writer in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, p. 213, which will illustrate the point.

"While she (Dharmmamahadevi) rules the earth *silimukhavali-rava* (the sound of the bees) is to be found in the gardens, but *silimukhavali-rava* (the sound of the swords) is not to be found; *mukta* (pearl) is to be found in the necklaces, but *mukta* (woman of loose character) is not to be found; *dosa-sanga-ruchi* (the desire for contact with the evening) is to be found in the moon, but *dosa-sanga-ruchi* (the desire for contact with vices) is not to be found; *sadvesata* (the spirit of debate) is to be found in the learned, but *sadvesata* (maliciousness) is not to be found; *tikshna-kara-graha* (the swallowing of the sun) is to be found in Rahu, but *tikshna-kara-graha* (the realisation of oppressive taxes) is not to be found; *traso-daya* (the emitting of lustre) is to be found in gems, but *traso-doyo* (the generation of fear) is not to be found; and *kutilata* (waviness) is to be found only in the locks of hair of women, but *kutilata* (crookedness) is not to be found."

Even the rulers of the smaller dynasties like the Nandas, employed very good Sanskritists to compose the texts of their copper plate grants as is evidenced by the Baripada Museum Plate of Devanandadeva (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXVI, p. 74) edited by the present writer. It not only provides us with very good specimens of poetry, but also shows that the composer was well versed in the Sanskrit works like the *Raghuvamsa* and the *Mahabharata*. The Somavamsi inscriptions also provide us with good specimens of Sanskrit literature, though some of them have been badly inscribed. The copper plate records of the imperial Gangas are each, so to speak, a book of copper containing unusually a great number of verses, all written in very good Sanskrit. The Gopinathapura Stone Inscription of the time of Kapilendradeva exhibits the good specimens of Sanskrit poetry.

Numerous examples can be cited from the vast number of Orissan epigraphic records to show that Sanskrit continued to be cultivated in Orissa till the end of the Hindu rule. The number of the poets, dramatists and other learned people who composed their works in Sanskrit during the Hindu rule in Orissa, is also numerous. A few of the Sanskrit works produced by the Orissan poets and scholars can only be noticed here.

Vishnu Sarma : Dr. S. C. Behera has of late published an illuminating article in (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXVIII, p. 160) showing conclusively with unimpeachable evidences that the home-land

of the great author of the great *Panchatantra* was Kalinga. With the help of the internal evidences furnished by this work and also by the epigraphic records of the Mathara dynasty assigned to the fifth-sixth century A. D., he has come to the following conclusions :

1. "Vishnusarma, the author of the *Panchatantra*, has indirectly referred to Kalinga as a country on the sea-side, which produces the best class of elephants. 2. Kalinga was very probably the home-land of Vishnusarma, because Ananta Sakti (son of Amara Sakti) of the *Kathamukham* of the *Panchatantra* appears to be no other than Ananta Sakti Varma of the Mathara family of Kalinga. 3. Vishnusarma, the author of the *Panchatantra* is, in all probability, the same Vishnusarma, the grandfather of the donee of the Tandivada grant which was issued from Pishtapura of ancient Kalinga."

The Matharas, as shown earlier, originally ruled over a kingdom comprising the modern Ganjam district of Orissa and the Srikakulam district of Andhra, though they later became an imperial power extending their sway as far as the rivar Mahanadi. Their inscriptions indicate that they ruled in the fifth-sixth century A. D. The *Panchatantra*, a product of this age, soon acquired a great celebrity in many parts of the civilized world as a very important work on fables. J. Hartel gives a list of over two hundred different versions of this book which was known to the entire region extending from Java to Iceland (*Das Panchatantra*, p. 151 ff). This immortal work is still a household book in India, read and studied with great interest by the young and the old alike.

Satananda : He was a great astronomer and also a *Smriti*-writer. The last verses of his celebrated astronomicl work *Bhasvati* clearly state that he was a resident of Purushottama (Puri), that he was the son of Sankara and Sarasvati, that his family title was Acharya and that the work was completed in *Yugabda* 4200 or *Sakabda* 1021 corresponding to A.D. 1099 which, according to the chronology adopted by us, falls in the last part of the Somavamsi rule. He made his astronomical calculations from the meridian of his native town Puri. Several commentaries cf this work such as *Bhasvati-Ratna-Dipika*, *Bhasvati Karana*, *Bhasvati Prakasika*, have come down to us. Satananda was also reputed as the author of two other works entitled *Satananda Ratnamala* and *Satananda Sangraha* of which the latter was definitely a work on *Smriti*.

Murari Misra : He was the author of the *Anargha Raghava Natakam* which was staged on a festive occasion in the shrine of Lord Jagannatha situated on the sea-shore studded with *Tamala* trees. Dr H. K. Mahtab (*Odisa Itihasa*, Oriya, Part I, 1977, p. 187) assigns him to the middle of the 9th century A. D., but he has not given the evidences supporting such an early date.

Jayadeva: Jayadeva, who is generally assigned to the twelfth century A. D., is known to have composed only one work *viz.* the *Gitagovinda*. The work consists of twelve cantoes, but in bluk it is so small that, when printed, it forms a booklet. Yet it is so charming and so melodious that it has an immense appeal to scholars and general readers alike. In Orissa it is almost a household book and its manuscripts are to be found in all collections of palm-leaf manuscripts, of which some are illustrated. One such manuscript containing fine coloured pictures illustrating the whole work, is preserved in the Orissa State Museum and from its colophon it is definitely known that it was written during the rule of Gajapati Harekrishnadeva (A.D. 1715-1720) of Puri. It has been exhibited in many art exhibitions of India and has evoked acclaim from all competent art critics. In many parts of Orissa the *Gitagovinda* is worshipped along with the home-deities. In the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, as we have already seen, there was a provision for the recital of *Gitagovinda* everyday.

Jayadeva's verses written in simple Sanskrit with an immense musical appeal, attracted all Sanskritists of Orissa and all other persons who had some knowledge in Sanskrit. Common people had access to this great popular work through numerous Oriya translations and commentaries, of which many manuscripts are still available. The names of some of the Oriya translators are Dharanidhara Dasa, Brindavana Dasa, Badari Dasa, Uddhava Dasa, Krishna Dasa, Chaitanya Dasa, Bhikari Dasa, Pindika Srichandana and Syamasundara Bhanja, and their translations are still available in the Manuscript Library of the Orissa State Museum. More than one hundred manuscripts of this famous work, collected from different parts of Orissa, have been preserved in this museum.

It will thus be seen that the *Gitagovinda* attained great popularity in Orissa. It must, however, be noted that its popularity in Orissa started from the sixteenth century and not earlier. Though the work was composed in the twelfth century A. D. the early great Oriya writers like Sarala Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa and Balarama Dasa neither borrowed nor appreciated the Sahajiya form of Vaishnavism which forms the theme

of this work. We have already seen that Sarala Dasa abhorred the Sahajiya form of Vaishnavism given in the *Gitagovinda* and help its tenets to ridicule by composing two satirical stories in the *Adi Parva* of his *Mahabharata*. He was of the firm opinion that "the world will be destroyed", if the faith and practices of the Sahajiyas are followed. The tenets of the Sahajiya sect have been reflected in the *Gitagovinda* wherein Krishna has been represented as a freelance. In the opening part of this work Krishna has been described as freely mixing and dancing with the cowherd women, and as embracing and kissing them. That he had sexual intercourse with some of them, is evident from the eleventh canto of the work wherein he is represented as a man weak and exhausted after the sexual intercourse. Radha becomes furious at the sight of Krishna with all the evidences of his recent engagement with the Gopis and refuses to have any intercourse with him. What follows next is a torrent of flattering words used by Krishna for the propitiation of Radha, who ultimately agrees to cohabit with him. The concluding part contains the scene of the sexual intercourse between them and its aftermath. The choicest words and phrases used by Jayadeva in his love lyric to produce sensuous and melodious effects, are unparalleled in Sanskrit literature, but the form of love that he describes in it, transgresses all human laws and ethics made to control sexual relations between men and women. There is an allusion to an episode in the fifth canto of the *Gitagovinda*, in which a husband and a wife were out at night to meet their paramours, but losing their way in intense darkness met each other and soon became engaged in copulation without knowing each other. Eventually they could recognize each other as husband and wife through the utterance of soft words at the time of engagement. The episode illustrates the form of the Sahajiya love which has formed the theme of the *Gitagovinda*.

Despite the revolting character of the love depicted in the *Gitagovinda*, it greatly influenced all the later Oriya Vaishnava poets by virtue of the fact that it is a superb piece of literary composition. Jayadeva's religious philosophy detracted the form of Vaishnavism preached by Sri Chaitanya in Orissa and debased the Jagannatha cult which originally had nothing to do with sex as we have already shown. After a review of the Oriya literature produced after the sixteenth century, one becomes convinced that Jayadeva's love lyric has done more harm than good to the national life of the Oriyas.

The home-land of Jayadeva has been a matter of great controversy. The Bengalis, the Oriyas and the Maithilis claim him as belongtng

to their regions. The mainstay of the claim of the Bengalis is that the first four verses of the opening part of the *Gitagovinda* give the names of four authors, viz. Umapatidhara, Sarana, Govarddhana and Dhoyi along with Jayadeva and therefore, according to them, they were all contemporaries and they lived in the court of Lakshmana Sena.

In establishing the contemporaneity of Jayadeva with these poets certain difficulties have not been taken into consideration. The approximate reign period assigned to Lakshmana Sena, may admit of a wide margin of error and the dates of these four poets, who are supposed to have lived in his court, are entirely uncertain. Except Dhoyi the connection of other four poets with the court of Lakshmana Sena has not been based on undisputed evidences. We are absolutely in the dark as to when Jayadeva was born and when he died. Notwithstanding these difficulties *History of Bengal*, (Vol. I, Hindu period, 1971, pp. 367 ff) takes Jayadeva to be a court poet of Lakshmana Sena.

The four introductory verses of the *Gitagovinda* differ from the rest in style, spirit and ideology and are entirely incongruous with the main body of the text. In these verses Krishna has been represented as a child, but in the rest of the text he is a full-fledged adult. Of these four verses, the verse 1 describes the rainy season while the rest of the text describes the love dalliance of Radha and Krishna in the spring. In verse 2 Jayadeva calls himself a *chakravati* among the minstrels who serve at the feet of Padmavati. This reference appears to be highly unusual and contrary to the literary traditions of India. Because of the unusual and incongruous character of these four verses they have been considered to be a later interpolation. Kumbha in his *Rasika Priya* commentary on the *Gitagovinda* composed in the middle of the fifteenth csntury A. D, expresses grave doubt as to whether Jayadeva could have composed the verse 4.

Some scholars have also utilised a work entitled *Jayadeva-Charita* in Bengali, published by the Vangiya Sahitya Parisada, Calcutta, in A. D. 1803. It was printed from a single manuscript and its duplicate copy has not been discovered. So it is not known when and how this work originated. The circumstances connected with its publication makes it highly suspicious.

Jayadeva refers to Kenduvilva as being his birth place and this Kenduvilva is supposed to have been corrupted into Kenduli. In the

Birbhum district on the bank of the river Ajaya an annual festival is held in honour of Jayadeva and it is supposed that a village named Kenduli existed here and this Kenduli was the birth-place of Jayadeva. Dr. Sukumara Sen however makes a distinct statement that a village named Kenduli cannot be traced on the bank of the river Ajaya where the annual fair is now being held. We reproduce a few sentences of his statement about Kenduli, as translated from Bengli into English by Mr. K. N. Mahapatra (*Souvenir on Sri Jayadeva*, Bhubaneswar, 1968, p. 33).

"There might have existed a village called Kenduli in Bengal in the past but it does not exist at present. Though a place where the *mela* or annual fair is held in honour of Sri Jayadeva is vaguely called Kenduli, it has got no connection with any village. The *mela* is held on the sandy strip of the bank of Ajaya river on the day of *Pausha Sankranti* for taking bath in its water. The name of the adjoining village is not Kenduli. There is no evidence regarding the existence of the Kenduli village in this locality. Only the *mela* held on the occasion of taking a dip in the holy water of the river by a vast crowd of people on the first day of the auspicious month of Makara, is known as 'Jayadeva-Kenduli' or simply 'Kenduli'. Investigation is to be made to find out whether the term Kenduli is more commonly used in this region for denoting a *mela*. There is no mention of this *mela* held in memory of Jayadeva, nor is there any reference to Kenduli or any other place of residence of Jayadeva in the literature of Sri Chaitanya. The birth place of Nityananda is not far from this place. So the silence of the biographies of Sri Chaitanya about the existence of Kenduli is really surprising. The history of the temple and the sacred precincts starts only from A.D. 1694. (supposed to be the year of the construction of the temple)".

From this statement it will be clear that no such village as Kenduli exists on the bank of the river Ajaya where the annual festival in honour of Jayadeva is being held.

Some of the arguments and materials with which some Oriya scholars want to prove Orissa to be the home-land of Jayadeva are neither above suspicion nor convincing. Of late a village named Kenduli, supposed to be existing in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar in the Puri district, has been taken by some scholars to be the birth-place of Jayadeva, though such a village cannot be traced from the revenue maps of the Puri district. It has also been given out that a stone inscription

containing a reference to Kenduvilva was discovered from this supposed Kenduli village of the Puri district. The epigraph has neither been brought to light nor has it been edited or published. The circumstances stated to have been connected with its discovery, are at variance and make the discovery highly suspicious. A village named Kenduli might have existed in Orissa in the past, but it cannot be traced now in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, from which the aforesaid inscription is said to have been discovered. There is no evidence in the biographies of Sri Chaitanya that he ever visited in Orissa a place known as Kenduvilva or Kenduli, though his biographers have mentioned a number of Vaishnava shrines said to have been visited by him. An inscription of the reign of the Ganga king Raghava engraved on the Lingaraja temple, refers to one *Sadhu Pradhana* Jayadeva who is sought to be identified with Jayadeva, the author of the *Gitagovinda*. In making this identification several weighty factors have not been taken into consideration. *Sadhu Pradhana* here simply means the head of the merchants or of the money-lenders, and even if we interpret *Sadhu* as meaning a saint, it does not follow that this *Sadhu Pradhana* Jayadeva is identical with the author of the *Gitagovinda* Several saints and monks might have been born in the twelfth century, bearing the name Jayadeva and it will be impossible to identify any one of them with the author of the *Gitagovinda* without first considerating his time of birth and death and the place of his residence and other circumstances. The epigraph refers itself to the reign of the Ganga king Raghava who ruled from A. D. 1156 to A. D. 1170 and there is no evidence to show that Jayadeva, the author of the *Gitagovinda*, was living during this period

Literary traditions have, however, persistently describe Utkala as the home-land of Jayadeva. In this connection we quote below a portion of the article entitled *Jayadeva of the Gitagovinda--His Date and Place* by Dr. N. K. Sahu in *Souvenier on Jayadeva*, 1968, p. 18, which will make the point clear :

"A number of writers during the late medieval period declared Utkala to be the home-land of Jayadeva. Gada Dwivedi in his work *Sampradaya Pradipa* dated A. D. 1553. states that Jayadeva belonged to Utkala. Navaji the wellknown poet of Gwalior in his *Bhakta-mala*, written in Hindi, also states that Jayadeva was a poet of Utkala. Jayadeva himself in his *Gitagovinda* states that he was born like a moon from the sea of Kenduvilva.

The Maharastrian poet Mahipati in his popular work *Bhakta Vijaya* declares Jayadeva as an incarnation of Vyasa and indentifies Kenduvilva with a village called Tinduvilva near the sacred city of Purushottama Puri. According to Mahipati Jayadeva wrote *Gitagovinda* at Purushottama and married Padmavati, the daughter of a Brahmin of that place. Krishna Dasa Babaji in his *Bhakta-mala* also testifies to the fact that Jayadeva lived in Purushottama. Chandra Datta a poet of Mithila in his *Bhakta-mala* corroborates the evidence given by poet Mahipati and presents the same type of identification of Kenduvilva. He states that Jayadeva the Brahmin poet of Utkala, the devotee of Purushottama and the author of the *Gita-govinda*, was born in a Brahmin village named Binduvilva near Jagannatha Puri. These literary evidences cannot, however be dismissed, unless other such evidences be produced to contradict the above."

It thus seems clear that the literary traditions of India have all along taken Orissa as the home-land of Jayadeva. It is not however necessary to put so much emphasis on the land of the origin of the poet. Our ancient Sanskrit poets and authors wrote their works for the whole of India and even world. In recent times there has been an unseeming scramble for bringing them into regional bounds. On account of the fact that Jayadeva controversy has assumed an acrimonious form in Bengal and Orissa, we have dealt with the controversy at some length and have placed the facts before the scholars and readers.

Vidyadhara : An *Alankara* work called *Ekavali* was composed by Vidyadhara who has been rightly taken by the late Mr. M. Chakravarti to have lived in the reign of Narasimhadeva I. In this work there are several references to the fights of Narsimhadeva with the Muslims, who have sometimes been termed as Hammiras, Yavanas, and Sakas. One reference represents the king as having defeated the Hammira (Amir) of Bengal in the *Vanga Sangara* or the battle of Bengal. From all these references it has been concluded that the author of the *Ekavali* lived in the court of Narasimhadeva I. The work was published in 1903 with Kamala Sankara Trivedi's introduction and the *Tarala* commentary of Mallinatha.

Sridhara Acharya : He was a *Smriti* writer and seems to have lived in the court of the Bhanja rulers of Gumsar in the Ganjam district. Mr. K. N. Mahapatra has assigned him to the twelfth century A. D., but he may even be a later writer.

Nilambara Acharya : Another *Smriti* writer was Nilambara Acharya who too has been assigned to the twelfth century A. D , but he may be a little later.

Sankhadhara : His work *Smriti Samuchaya* was accepted as an authority by the *Smritikaras* of Utkala, Gauda and Mithila. Jimutavahana, an earlier *Smriti* writer of Bengal, has quoted him frequently. Mr. Mahapatra assigns him to a period before A. D. 1300.

Sambhukara Vajapeyi : Sambhukara and his son Vidyakara were the contemporaries of Narasimhadeva II. They belonged to a famous Vajapeyi family which lived in a Brahmin *Sasana* in the neighbourhood of Puri. The descendants of this family are still living in the village Dandamukundapura near Pilpili in the Puri district. Sambhukara has been frequently quoted in the *Smriti* works of other parts of India but only two of his small works named *Sradha Paddhati* and *Vivaha Paddhati* have been printed and published in Oriya. A number of his unpublished works in palm-leaf manuscripts have been preserved in the Orissa State Museum. Vidyakara's famous work was *Nityachara Paddhati* which has been quoted by other writers.

Kavi Visvanatha : He is one of the most eminent Sanskrit poets of Orissa and is generally placed in the reign of Bhanudeva IV. His most outstanding work *Sahitya Darpana* is a wellknown Sanskrit work in India. He also wrote the following other works :

1. *Raghava Vilasa Mahakavya* (Sanskrit)
2. *Kuvalaya Charita Kavya* (Prakrita)
3. *Prabhavati Parinaya Natika*
4. *Chandrakala Natika*
5. *Prasasti Ratnavali*
6. *Narasimha Vijaya*
7. *Kavya Prakasa Darpana*

Kapilendradeva : A Sanskrit drama named *Parasurama Vijaya* is ascribed to him.

Purushottamadeva : The works *Abhinava Gitagovinda*, *Abhinava Veni Samhara* and *Mukti Chintamani* are all attributed to him, but it is doubtful whether the king himself composed all these works.

Prataparudradeva : The famous work *Sarasvati Vilasam* is attributed to his authorship.

Ramananda Raya : He wrote *Jagannatha Vallabha Nataka*.

Jivadeva Kavidindima : His famous work *Bhakti Bhavavata* is wellknown to the Sanskritists.

Rai Champati : His poems are included in the anthology entitled *Padamrita Samudra*.

Several other Sanskrit poets and authors were also patronized by Prataparudradeva.

Narasimha Mishra Vajapeyi : He wrote the famous *Nityachara Pradipa* which has been considered to be an authority on *Smriti*. He was also the author of five other famous works on *Smriti*.

The above account of the Sanskrit works produced during the Hindu rule in Orissa is a very inadequate one. Of late the descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit manuscripts of Orissa, compiled by Mr. K N. Mahapatra, M. P. Das and Pandiata Nilamani Mishra and published by the Govt. of Orissa, give an idea about the vastness of the Sanskrit literature produced during the Hindu rule in Orissa and even in the later periods. Many of the Sanskrit manuscripts still remain unpublished.

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16. Oriya Language and Literature

Origin and Development of the Oriya Language

The date of the origin of the Oriya language cannot be determined. It is also not known when and how a language of Sanskrit origin, which is now the prevailing language of the land, originated. It may, however, be presumed that the spread of a language of Sankrit origin in Orissa might have taken the same form as it did in the neighbouring Bengal. In Bengal a language of Sanskrit origin prevailed over the languages of non-Aryan origin in the wake of the Magadhan occupation of that country. Officers, soldiers, merchants, monks and mendicants must have poured into Bengal form the neighbouring Magadha and would have imposed on the people of the land a from of a language known to scholars as *Prachya Prakrita* which was derived from Sanskrit. The official language of Bengal would have also in *Prachya Prakrita*. The course of the spread of *Prachya Prakrita* in Bengal has been explained by modern scholars in this way, though this explanation might not represent the whole truth (*History of Bengal*, Vol. I, Hindu Period, reprinted 1971, pp. 375-376).

In Orissa, known as Kalinga in ancient time, the spread of *Prachya Prakrita* might have taken the same course. The conquest of Kalinga by Asoka in 261 B.C. is an important and well-known event in the history of India. It is difficult to ascertain the forms of languages prevalent in this land before this epoch-making event. It is not however unlikely that the languages of Dravidian and tribal origin were prevailing in different parts of this country when the invaders, speaking a language of Sanskrit origin, invaded this country and occupied it for a considerable long time. There is little evidence to show that Asoka employed the inhabitants of Kalinga in his services or preserved the old system of their administration or the official language. After the conquest of Kalinga officers, soldiers, merchants, Buddhist monks and others must have entered into this country in large numbers from Magadha and imposed their language on the Kalingan people. Asoka's inscriptions in Orissa, like those of other parts of India, are in Pali

which is a language of Sanskrit origin, but in the beginning portions of his inscriptions in Kalinga there are a few words which differ from the same words to be found in the beginning portions of his inscriptions in other parts of India. Therefore, it has been supposed by scholars that this small change probably represented an allowance to the local language of the country. Pali and Prakrita thus seem to have entered into Kalinga from the time of its conquest by Magadha and from this time a language of Sanskrit origin started to be spread in this land. Asoka's invasion of Kalinga not only influenced its language, but also its culture. We have seen earlier that the objects discovered from the Sisupalagarh and Dhauli excavations testify to the prevalence of a mixed form of culture from the fourth century B.C., which was partly Aryan and partly Dravidian. Gradually however the Aryan influence predominated and the Dravidian influence receded to the background.

This is evident from the next course of the political history of Kalinga. The Chedis who ruled over Kalinga after the extinction of the Magadhan dominance, and of whom Kharavela was the third member, were a people of northern origin and were a branch of a dynasty of the same name originally ruling in Madhyadesa or Magadha. It is not known when and how a branch of the northern Chedi dynasty established itself in Kalinga, but the fact that they were a people of the Aryan origin admits of no doubt. In the Hatigumpha Inscription Kharavela has been styled as *Aira* which has been taken to be a corruption of the word *Arya* or Aryan. The titles given to him in this epigraph are purely of Sanskritic origin. The language in which the Hatigumpha *Prasasti* has been composed, is also of Sanskrit origin. The name of his father-in-law and some of his officers found from the short inscriptions on the Udayagiri caves, are of Sanskrit origin. Jainism which Kharavela professed, was a religion of northern origin with a sacred language of Sanskrit origin. The names of Kharavela and of his probable successors Vadukha and Kudepasiri or Kamdapasiri are taken by some scholars as of Dravidian origin, but this interpretation has not been accepted by all scholars. The names of the probable successors of Kharavela have also been interpreted as of Sanskrit origin with their original Sanskrit forms as Vakradeva and Kandarpasri. The name Kharavela too has been interpreted as of Sanskrit origin meaning the ocean. The facts analysed above, will show that the Chedis of Kalinga were of the northern origin and they spoke and patronized a language of Sanskrit origin.

The Bhadrak Inscription of Gana, assigned to the third century A.D., is in Prakrita, but it contains certains words and verbs which do

not follow the Prakrita language and grammar. The word *medha* used in this epigraph seems to be a word of the local language then prevailing in this country. The inscription shows that Prakrita was the language of all documents in Orissa up to the beginning of the Gupta age in India in the fourth century A.D. No inscription belonging to the early Gupta age has been discovered in Orissa, but all the epigraphs of the later Gupta period, found in Orissa, are in Sanskrit. The ruling dynasties of Orissa like the Vigrahas and the Matharas have all used Sanskrit in their charters. All later dynasties like the Sailodbhavas, Bhaumas and the Somavamsis used Sanskrit in their copper plate records. A change in the official language from Prakrita to Sanskrit seems to have taken place from the fourth-fifth century A.D. Scholars are still uncertain whether the direct administration of the Imperial Gupts was ever introduced in Orissa, but there is no doubt that Orissa felt the influence of the mighty change that took place in northern India in the fields of culture and religion during their rule. The revival of Hinduism and of Sanskrit in the Gupta empire had its repercussion on Orissa also. The use of Sanskrit as the official language and also as the language of books must have influenced the local language or languages which gradually became more Sanskritic in their origin and vocabulary.

We have said earlier that a great work like the *Panchatantra* was composed in Orissa during the rule of the Matharas who were the contemporaries of the Guptas. This great work must have influenced the local language of this country.

Sanskrit, Prakrita and Pali were never the spoken languages of Orissa nor of any part of India, but the Orissan people ultimately adopted a language derived from all of them. Orissa must have taken centuries to evolve a language of its own which became Sanskritic in origin. No example of the ealiest form of the Oriya language has come down to us in any document so far discovered, but here and there we find in the Orissan Inscriptions certain words which, though of Sanskrit origin, were different from it. In the Bhauma copper plate records we find the words like *Thira, Pruva, Paduma* and *Tambra,* the Sanskrit equivalents of which are *Sthira, Purva, Padma* and *Tamra,* respectively. In the names like Bhimata and Nannata and in the titles like Unmata Simha and Lona Bhara the influence of a local language is clearly discernible. If the Oriya language existed during the periods of the Sailobdhavas, the Bhaumas and the Somavamsis, it must have existed in a formative stage.

Yuan Chwang says that the people of the Odra country spoke a language different from the language of central India. This statement does not mean that the language of Orissa in Yuan Chwang's time had no family affinities with the languages of northern and central India. Even though all the northern, eastern and western languages belong to one family group, they differed in the past as they do at present. This seems to be the meaning of Yuan Chwang's observation that the language of the Odra country differed from that of central and northern India. The Chinese pilgrim further says that the people of the Kongoda country (the Ganjam and Puri districts) spoke a language which is similar to that of central India. This observation seems contrary to the real state of things. Kongoda being adjacent to the Andhra country has all along been influenced by it in its language. The fact is that Yuan Chwang did not learn all the languages of India, nor did he carry on researches in them. During his short sojourn in Odra and Kongoda he formed an impression about the languages of these countries and has left an account of them, to which too much importance should not be attached.

Up to the ninth-tenth century A.D. what is now known as Orissa consisted of three political and cultural units known as Kosala, Utkala and Kongoda and these three units were united under one rule by the Somavamsis. We have seen that Yayati I occupied Orissa about A. D. 931 and Yayati II was requested by the people and ministers of the state to be the king of all these three distinct territories. From the reign of Yayati II the capital of the Somavamsi kingdom was shifted from Kosala to the coastal region of Orissa. These political changes fostered the growth of a common language in Orissa. The people of the Kosala tract originally spoke a language which was akin to the Bhojapuri Prakrita, while the language of the coastal strip had family affinity with Magadhi. These two branches of *Prachya Prakrita* met and mingled in Orissa and formed a new language which came to be known as Oriya. The nomenclature seems to have derived from the fact that the elements of the language of the coastal strip, the land of the Odras, predominated in it. Another reason seems to be that the Kosala tract at no time could produce a literature of its own. The Oriya language seems to have been born under these circumstances, but no specimen of the Oriya language of the Somavamsi period has come down to us.

The next political period i.e., the Ganga period, provides us with a number of specimens of the Oriya language that we get from the stone

and copper plate inscriptions. These specimens are founed from a bilingual inscription (Oriya and Tamil) of the reign of Vira Narasimhadeva discovered at Bhubaneswar, from an inscription on the temple of Lakshmi Narasimha at Simhachalam belonging to the reign of Narasimhadeva (the language is Oriya but the script is Telugu), from another inscription of Vira Narasimhadava on the temple of Srikurmesvara dated A.D. 1330 (the language is Oriya but the script is Telugu), from the Sonepur Stone Inscription of Bhanudeva I and from the Trimali Matha Copper Plate Grant of Narasimhadeva IV, dated A.D. 1384. Dr. K. B. Tripathi in his book *The Evolution of Oriya Language and Script* has published the texts of the above inscriptions except the Sonepur Stone Inscription of Bhanudeva I. Besides he has also published a number of other inscriptions in this book, which are written in the Oriya language and script. These records in their totality furnish us with indubitable evidences that the Oriya languaga had considerably developed during the Ganga period.

But the specimens of the Oriya language provided by these records show the examples of a stereotyped language generally used in documents and they do not produce any evidence that there was a literary language in Orissa. Some Oriya scholars think that the Oriya literarure had already made its appearance in the Ganga period. They take their stand by the *Madalapanji* and maintain that this chronicle had started to be written from the reign of Chodagangadeva, the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. They thus trace back the origin of the Oriya literature to the first part of the twelfth century A.D. We have discussed at some length in Appendix IV the unreliable character of the *Madalapanji* and have maintained that it could not have been composed before the closing part of the sixteenth century A. D. Prof. S. K. Chatteerji in his *Artavallabha Mahanti Memorial Lectures*, 1964, seems to have been led by the popular view and therefore he has assigned the beginning of the *Madalapanji* to the reign of Chodagangadeva. He has also taken as a very good specimen of the Oriya prose the long proclamation purported to have been issued by the Ganga king Anangabhimadeva III, which has been incorporated in the *Madalapanji*. He has not however noticed several anachronisms in this so-called proclamation, which prove that it could not have been composed in the Ganga period.

In the Ganga period and even earlier folk songs existed in Orissa and they were being handed down orally from generation to generation. These songs, when studied, give us some indications about the early torm of the Oriya language and literature. The earliest Oriya folk songs have been recast, and, in the process, much of their originality

has been lost, but, though the verbs have been completely changed, some of the words used in them still retain their original forms and these forms provide us with indubitable evidences that the early Oriya language was much closer to the early Bengali and Assamese languages than it is to-day. A particular class of folk songs, known as *Khanavachana* or the sayings of Khana, pertaining to agriculture and astrology, is still current in Orissa and they contain a very large number of words which will now be dubbed as Bengali. The date of their origin cannot be determined, but they seem to be very ancient and current in Orissa from remote times. They have been recently printed in the book form. Some of the folk songs, though not all, are no doubt the earliest literature of Orissa.

Origin and Development of the Oriya Literature

As shown above, the Oriya literature existed in oral form from a very early date which cannot be precisely fixed. We can, however, trace the regular written literature from the first part of the fifteenth century A.D. Some Oriya scholars however push back the origin of the Oriya literature even to the ninth-tenth century A.D. They claim as the specimens of the proto-Oriya literature the esoteric songs of Buddhist origin, variously known as *Bauddha Gana, Dohas* and *Charyapadas* assigned to the ninth-tenth century A.D. The Bengalis, the Maithilis, the Assamese, the Magadhis and the Bhojapuris also claim these songs as the specimens of their proto-literatures. These claims are based more on regional sentiment than on reason. They have lost sight of the most important fact that not a single manuscript copy of these religious songs has yet been discovered in any part of north and south India, not even in the territories of the claimants. Had they been at any time the prevailing literature of any region or regions, their total disappearance from the lands of their origin would have been hardly possible. It seldom happens that a literature born in a particular territory completely disappears from the land of its origin and its manuscript copies are traced in a distant land like Nepal.

From these esoteric songs it is apparent that they belonged to a particular sect, known as the Sahajiyas, who advocated free indulgence in sexual act and who favoured the type of a love known as *Parakiya* i.e., the love with the women belonging to other people, particularly of the lower castes. In these songs we find the mention of the Dombi and the Savari who belonged to the lower order of the society. Evidently the Sahajiyas used these songs for their esoteric rites

and only the initiated seem to have had access to them. The language of the songs was the sacred language of the Sahajiyas and was analogous to Sanskrit and Pali which were never spoken languages. The Sahajiyas had their centres at places like Nalanda and Udantapura (Bihar Sherif) in Magadha, which were originally the great centres of Buddhism, but which later became the centres of Tantrism, of which the Sahajayana was a sect. The Sahajiyas of eastern India residing in these centres, thus seem to have formed a sacred language of their own, to which they would have contributed the elements of their regional languages. The language of these songs do not exclusively represent the language of any part of east India, but it was a composite language like modern Hindi. In their attempt to push back the origin of their literatures to remote antiquitty the claimants of these songs are merely taking recourse to linguistic discussions, but they are not considering the historical circumstances connected with their origin and discovery.

The historical fact as to why the manuscript copies of these songs were discovered only from Nepal and from no other part of India, has not been considered by any of the claimants. In the closing part of twelfth century A.D. Bakhtyar Khalji destroyed the Buddhist monasteries of Nalanda and Udantapuri and killed many of the Buddhist monks. Those who survived fled in panic with their manuscripts to Nepal and Tibet. The manuscripts of these songs of debatable origin thus made their way to Nepal where they were discovered first by the Bengali scholars in recent times. Their discovery in Nepal cannot otherwise be explained.

Another fact which is to be taken into consideration is that the claimants have failed to trace the progressive evolution of their literatures from these religious songs. Vadu Chandi Dasa, the first famous Bengli poet, and Sarala Dasa, the first famous Oriya poet, wrote their works in the fifteenth century A.D. and if we take back the origin of these literatures to the ninth-tenth century A.D. when the *Charyapadas* were composed, there will be an immense gap of five to six hundred years, when the intermediate links in both literatures cannot be traced. It seldom happens that a literature which has made a serious beginning, completely dies out and reappears after centuries. We are not therefore tempted to regard the *Charyapadas* as the specimens of the proto-Oriya literature.

Sarala Dasa, a poet of the fifteenth century, was the real originator of the Oriya literature. The date of his birth cannot be accurately

determined, but he can safely be placed in the second half of the fifteenth century A.D. The *Adi Parva* or the first book of his *Mahabharata* opens with a long invocation addressed to the lord Jagannatha of Puri who enjoyed then and is still enjoying the unquestioned supremacy among the Hindu gods and goddesses of Orissa and even of India. In course of this invocation which describes the manifold powers and qualities of the lord Jagannatha, the poet tells us that Maharaja Kapilesvara with innumerable offerings and many a salute was serving this great deity and thereby destroying the sins of the Kali Age. The reference leaves no doubt that Sarala Dasa started writing his *Mahabharata* in the reign of Kapilesvara, otherwise known as Kapilendra, the famous Gajapati king of Orissa who ruled from A.D. 1435 to 1467. Kapilesvara has been described by the poet as the servent of the lord Jagannatha on account of the fact that this great deity had been conceived and regarded as the real king of Orissa since the reign of the Ganga king Anadgabhimadeva III (A.D.1211-1238), who formally dedicated his kingdom to Jagannatha and declared himself to be his deputy and first servant. This custom was followed, as we have already seen, by the subsequent Orissan kings who too conceived their position in the state as the deputy and the first servant of this deity. Even now the Raja of Puri, the traditional representative of the Gajapati kings of Orissa, is the custodian and the first servant of the Jagannatha temple. In view of these facts Maharaja Kapilesvara represented as the first servant of the lord Jagannatha in the opeping part of the *Sarala Mahabharata*, can be no other than the Suryavamsi king of the same name. The contemporaneity of Sarala Dasa and Kapilesvara (Kapilendra) has been accepted by all historians. Besides, this contemporaneity is also proved by innumerable internal evidences of his *Mahabharata*.

Three of his books, the *Vilanka Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Chandi Purana* are so far known and of them the *Mahabharata*, his *magnum opus*, contains according to a rough estimate more than one hundred thousand verses, each consisting of two lines and covering the eighteen volumes of printed pages. The *Vilanka Ramayana* and the *Chandi Purana* respectively contain about twenty-eight hundred and fifty-five hundred verses and respectively cover eighty and one hundred and fifty-five printed pages. In a clear statement the poet declares the *Vilanka Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Chandi Purana* to be respectively the first, second and third of his compositions.

There are reasons for the rise of the Oriya literature in the reign of Kapileswara or Kapilendra, both the forms of which appear in the

inscriptions. We have already quoted from the Gopinathapura Stone Inscription a verse (translated by Mr. M. M. Chakravarty into English), which conclusively proves that Kapilendra was a native of Orissa. After centuries a native of Odra-desa or Orissa ruled its own people, giving them a sense of pride and self-respect, hopes and aspirations, leading them to battle fields for his extensive conquests and opening to them a new geographical horizon. A love for the Oriya language, literature and culture was therefore an inevitable consequence of the new ferment created by the strong and vigorous rule of Kapilesvara. Since the topmost of castes, particularly the Brahmins, were still the devotees of the Sanskrit literature and had perhaps anaversion to the spoken language and its literature, a man from the lower rung of the social ladder came forward to accept the challenge of the time. Times without number Sarala Dasa tells us that he was an uneducated Sudra cultivator and a man of no importance, but the posterity will not accept his low self-estimation and will no doubt take him to be a man of vision, who responded to the call of the time and brought about a revolutionary change in the Oriya literature by becoming its originator and maker. After Sarala Dasa all castes shook off their prejudice against the Oriya literature and conjointly contributed to its growth. Among the poets who immediately followed him was, Jagannatha Dasa, the writer of the Oriya *Bhagavata*, who was a learned Brahmin Sanskritist and who is universally regarded as one of the luminaries of the Oriya literature.

A few poems, notably Vatsa Dasa's *Kalasa Chautisa* and Markanda Dasa's *Kesava Koili*, have been assigned to the pre-Sarala period, though the arguments advanced in favour of their date have yet been far from conclusive. The main characteristic of these small poems is that each verse in them begins with a consonant of the Oriya alphabet serially covering thirty-four letters. Consequently these works consist of only thirty-four verses or stanzas. This metrical characteristic cannot be traced in any part of Sarala Dasa's vast literature, nor can it be conceived that these very small works were ever utilised by him as his models. A large prose work known as *Rudra Sudhanidhi* by Narayanananda Avadhuta Svami is assigned to the pre-Sarala period by some scholars, but its editor, Dr. K. K. Kar, after a discussion of its internal evidences, has assigned it to the post-Sarala period. The word *Mogala* (Moghul) which was not in use in Orissa in the pre-Sarala period, has been used in this work. Besides, there are distinct influences of the Sarala *Mahabharata* to be found on it. The metrical characteristic of the *Chautisa* literature, explained above, is

also to be traced in this work. Evidently the *Rudra Sudhanidhi* was composed in the seventeenth century. Another very small work known as *Sisuveda* is also sometimes taken to be a pre-Sarala composition, but Dr. Natabara Samantaray has conclusively shown that it is a later Oriya translation of a Hindi work. Considering all these facts a conclusion becomes unavoidable that Sarala Dasa was the originator of the Oriya literature.

We have stated earlier that the Oriya folk songs were orally current in this land from a very remote time and they were used and are still being used in various folk dances such as *Ghoda-nacha* (Horse dance), *Danda-nacha* and *Sakhi-nacha* (Puppet-dance) One metrical peculiarity of these songs is that both the lines of a verse do not contain an equal number of letters, though the last letters of both the lines produce the same sound. All the works of Sarala Dasa are found to have been composed with this metrical peculiarity and, therefore, the metre used by him can be regarded as a direct descendant of the metre used in the folk songs The metre used by Sarala Dasa has been termed as *Dandi-vritta* by some scholars, but without any evidence or justification. The poet has nowhere given such a name to the metre used by him. By the fifteenth century the Oriya language had assumed almost its modern form and had become ripe for literary compositions. The cultivator Sarala Dasa utilised this language to bring into existence the first Oriya literature worth the name. Herein lies his chief credit.

Poetry was in the blood of Sarala Dasa and it flowed from his iron stylus as words flowed from his mouth. While writing his verses, he does not appear to have paused for re-thinking or correction. What he wrote once was final. Rhetoric and pun on words, so common in the Oriya literature of the eighteenth century, are completely absent in his writings His verses are simple, forceful and musical with no trace of artificiality in them His diction has sometimes risen to great heights but generally it is commonplace. The poet was no chooser of words, all words being equally good for him for his poetical purpose. His writing is mostly free from Sanskritization.

In writing the *Mahabharata*, his *magnum opus*, the poet has followed the main outline of the story of the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*, well known to all students of Indian literatures, but has made numerous deviation and has added to it copiously the stories of his own creation and various other matters known to him. In the final form Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* is a new creation analogous to Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsa*

which is distinctly a original work, even though it is based on the *Ramayana*. The *Chandi Purana* is based on the well known story of Durga killing Mahishasura (the buffalo-headed demon) given in Sanskrit literature, but here also the Oriya poet has chosen to deviate from the original at several points. His earliest work *Vilanka Ramayana* is a story of the fight between Rama and Sahasrasira Ravana (thousand-headed Ravana).

It is apparent from numerous biographical sketches given in his works that Sarala Dasa had no systematic education in his early age. What he achieved through self-education and untiring efforts has all been attributed to the grace of the goddess Sarala, the deity of his devotion and inspiration, and he has nowhere taken any credit for what he wrote. Very often he has wanted us to believe that what he produced in his books, was dictated to him by Sarala at night and he merely committed her dictates to writing in the day time. A spirit of humility and intense religiousness pervaded the personality of the poet to such an extent that it is difficult to reconstruct a real picture of his own personality from his writings. Scattered throughout all his works his odes, invocations and prayers to different deities in general and to Sarala in particular are so numerous that, when collected together, they will form a book of respectable size. While writing them the poet appears to have been in his best element, his fancy soaring high and his diction assuming the best form.

Complete surrender to a personal deity conceiving him or her as the source of all knowledge and inspiration was a common practice which Sarala Dasa has shared with other poets of his age. All Oriya poets writing before the middle of the sixteenth century are found in their works to have designated themselves as '*Dasa*' meaning a slave or a servant, no doubt of a particular god or goddess. We have thus a long list of poets preceding and succeeding Sarala Dasa, whose names end with '*Dasa*' e.g. Vatsa Dasa, Markanda Dasa, Sarala Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama Dasa, Yasovanta Dasa, etc. None of them has borne the surname of his caste. These poets have also shown an intense spirit of humility and have declared themselves in their writings as uneducated, unwise, poor and the like. They have also said in no uncertain words that they composed their works for the benefit of the "entire world", "all people" and "all creatures". In the fields of religion and literature the spirit of humility was the order of the age, which Sarala Dasa has shared in a greatar degree.

The predominant sentiment in Sarala Dasa's poems is not love, but war. He was also actuated by a strong religious zeal to compose religious books in a language intelligible to all and to make them available to the general public in Orissa. He tells in no uncertain words that he composed his poems for the benefit of all "human beings". In pursuance of this declared object he made composition of poems his life work. There are several indications in his *Mahabharata* that he served as a soldier in the army of the Gajapati king of Orissa and his association with the army brought to him a variety of experiences. The stories he heard, the battle scenes which he witnessed, the places that he visited in the company of the army, the historical incidents and names that he could know, all remained stored up in his splendid memory to be utilised in his writings. The manifold experiences which he gained through his associations, widened his mental horizon, else the knowledge of a variety of subjects, particularly of history and geography, that he has exhibited in his *Mahabharata*, can hardly be expected from a man living in an obscure village. It my be mentioned that medieval Indian armies included not only soldiers and commanders, but also statesmen, learned and wise men, ambassadors, entertainers, astrologers, physicians, historians, geographers and the like. Sarala Dasa with his remarkable memory and understanding appears to have fully utilised his sojourn with the army and nothing seems to have been lost of what he saw and heard during this period.

A great poet like Sarala Dasa had not attracted the notice of the Indian scholars till the present writer published a monograph entitled *Sarala Dasa* (Makers of Indian Literature Series, Sahitya Akademi, New Delhi, 1975). In *The Delhi Sultanate*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavana, 1967, p. 520, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee makes the following observation about Sarala Dasa :

"Another important poet of the fourteenth century is Sarala Dasa, who may be described as the first great poet of Orissa. He wrote the *Chandi Purana* and the *Vilanka Ramayana*, both extolling tho Goddess Durga, and gave a brief version of the *Mahabharata* in 700 verses, in which he omitted certain portions of the story and brought in a number of new stories and modifications. The language appears modern, but Oriya has not changed much in the course of the last seven or eight centuries."

The observation does no justice to Sarala Dasa nor to the ancient Oriya literature. Containing as it does over one hundred thousand

verses Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* is greater in bulk than even the Sanskrit *Mahabharata*. The poet was a contemporary of Kapilendra and therefore, as we have shown above, he lived in the first part of fifteenth century and not in the fourteenth century. In his *Vilanka Ramayana* he has extolled Sita and not Durga. Every fact given in this short observation is untrue and misleading.

Sarala Dasa's work formed a perennial source of inspiration to the succeeding generations of writers and also, so to speak, a perennial spring from which the later Oriya literature flowed like a stream without a break.

Jagannatha Dasa: Among the great writers who immediately followed Sarala Dasa in the fifteenth-sixteenth century A.D. Jagannatha Dasa stands pre-eminent. He has been represented to have written several works such as *Bhagavata, Gupta Bhagavata, Darubrahmagita, Gaja-stuti, Dhruva-stuti, Tulabhina, Itihasa Purana, Pasanda-dalana, Manasi-kosa* and *Rasakrida*. He was a contemporary of Prataparudradeva and Sri Chaitanya, and therefore, must have lived in the first part of the the sixteenth century. His *magnum opus, the Bhagavata*, is based on *Srimadbhagavata Purana*, but is not a translation of it. The poet has deviated from the Sanskrit original at several points and has also omitted certain episodes and has added some episodes of his own. The book has been written in such a simple and charming language that it is understood and admired by all classes of readers. Certain verses of this work have become proverbial and are cited on all occasions by the people throughout Orissa. Every village in Orissa had originally a room or a small house, known as *Bhagavata Tungi*, where Jagannatha Dasa's *Bhagavata* was being recited and listened to by a gathering of the villagers. This *Bhagavata* is almost a Bible to the Orissan people and it still enjoys the same popularity in Orissa as the *Rama Charita Manasa* of Tulasi Dasa does in north India. Jagannatha Dasa was a learned Brahmin Sanskritist and by a judicious combination of Sanskrit and local words he created the first standard language of Orissa, which is being followed even now. This was another great achievement of this great poet.

Balarama Dasa: He was the celebrated author of the first Oriya *Ramayana*. Like Jagannatha Dasa, Balarama was also a contemporary of Prataparudradeva and Sri Chaitanya. As a poet he displays a considerable poetical genius and in his time his *Ramayana* was a great popular

work which was recited in the public and listened to by all classes of people. The Brahmins, however, did not quite welcome either the *Bhagavata* of Jagannatha Dasa or the *Ramayana* of Balarama Dasa. Balarama Dasa's other works are *Arjunagita*, *Gajanistarana-gita*, *Bedha-parikrama* and *Mriguni-stuti*.

Apart from these two great poets of the age the other three luminaries are Yasovanta Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Achyutananda Dasa whose philosophical writings have been embodied in the works still current in Orissa. Of late there has been a controversy as to whether Achyutananda Dasa actually belonged to this group of the five poets commonly known as *Panchasakhas*. It seems that there were several poets bearing the name Achyutananda, and the later traditions associated one of them with Jagannatha Dasa and others. Arjuna Dasa who wrote *Rama-vibha* is also assigned to this period.

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17. Religion

Jainism

The date of the origin of Jainism cannot be determined. The twenty-three Tirthankaras who preceded Mahavira Vardhamana, had reformed this old religion at various times of which no chronology is available. The date of Parsvanatha, the immediate predecessor of Mahavira Vardhamana, has however been approximately known. He lived and preached about 250 years before Mahavira (i. e., in the eighth century B. C.) and was the son of Asvasena, king of Benaras. Most of the essentials of his preachings were later on adopted by Mahavira. Parsvanahta and Mahavira were thus historical figures.

The latter's connection with Kalinga (Orissa) is suggested by the traditions recorded in the Jaina sacred literature. The Jaina *Harivamsa-Purana* records that Mahavira preached his religion in Kalinga and Jaina *Haribhadriya-vritti* says that he went to this country as its king was a friend of his father. The early spread of Jainism in Orissa is evident from these traditions and it will not be unreasonable to conclude that Jainism made its first appearance in this country in sixth century B. C. when Mahavira visited it, and since then it continued to be one of its major religions at least up to the end of the first century B. C. when Kharavela's dynasty seems to have ended.

There was a long rivalry between Magadha and Kalinga from the days of the Nandas down to the days of Mauryas, which for a while ended with the occupation of Kalinga by Asoka in about 261 B. C., but which was again revived in the reign of Kharavela who is generally placed in the second or first century B.C. The Nandaraja of the Hatigumpha Inscription, who is represented to have taken away the sacred seat of Jina from Kalinga, later recovered by Kharavela, and who is also represented to have dug a canal in Kalinga, later re-excavated by the same king, is identified by some scholars with Mahapadma Nanda and by others with Asoka. At any rate, there is no doubt that there was a long and continued rivalry between Magadha and Kalinga in the

pre-Christian era. The reasons of this long struggle might have been mostly political, but a religious factor cannot altogether be eliminated.

The first attack of Magadha on Kaliga during the days of the Nandas must have been an outcome of the Nanda imperialism. According to the *Puranas*· Mahapadma Nanda conquered most parts of India and became *ekarat* or the sole emperor. The Nandas have been represented as greedy, unscrupulous and most unpopular among their subjects and it is due to their lust for conquest that they must have conquered Kalinga. No accounts of this first war between Magadha and Kalinga is available and we have observed earlier that Nandaraja of the Hatigumpha Inscrip-tion is in reality Asoka, but if we accept the views of other scholars and identify Nandaraja with Mahapadma Nanda, we can well imagine that his invasion would have been as terrible as Asoka's Kalinga War of 261 B.C. of which Asoka himself gives us a graphic description. At the conclusion of the war Nandas must have carried away from Kalinga a vast booty of which the honoured seat of Jina was most precious and has therefore found a particular mention in the Hatigumpha Inscription. The honoured seat was an object of worship among the Kalinga people who must have felt and resented its loss. It therefore follows that Jainism was the major religion of Kalinga in the fourth century B. C. and we shall not be far from the truth, if we conclude that it was its state religion.

The History of Orissa from the days of the Nandas to the date of Asoka's invasion is completely blank and we do not know when Kalinga regained her independence so that there was the necessity of conquering it again by Asoka. There is however no reason to think that Jainism ceased to be the dominant religion of Kalinga soon after its conquest by the Nandas. It must have continued as the major religion of this country and might have been one of the causes of Asoka's invasion. From all accounts we get the impression that Asoka was a Bhahamanical Hindu prior to his invasion of Kalinga and it is therefo·e not unlikely that the war waged against this Jaina country, was tinged with a sectarian bias.

In his Thirteenth Rock Edict Asoka tells us that the Kalinga War resulted in one hundred thousand people killed, ane lakh and fifty thousand carried away as captives, many more that number dying of starvation and disease that followed in the wake of the terrible war.

This description presents an overall picture of the devastations and the loss of life in Kalinga and it is difficult to determine as to how much of her culture survived after this great cataclysm. The Kalinga war formed a turning point in the life of Asoka, in the history of Buddhism and in the culture and religion of the Kalinga. Asoka engraved his Fourteen Rock Edicts at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district, both situated in Orissa, and set up a pillar at Bhubaneswar, subsequently converted into a huge *Sivalingam*, now enshrined in the Bhaskaresvara tample There was thus a period of proselytisation following the conquest and ushering in the new religion of Buddhism which in consequence obtained a foothold in Orissa, but it cannot be imagined that Buddhism ousted the old religion of Jainism.

Jainism must have continued as one of the main religions of Orissa even after the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. and the people of Kalinga must have been looking forward to an opportunity when they should regain not only their political freedom but also their religious freedom. We do not know when Kalinga became free again, but it seems that she regained her independence in the reign of one of Asoka's weak successors. At any rate, there is little doubt that Kalinga had become an independent country under Kharavela's dynastry of which the Hatigumpha Inscription provides us with definite information. Kharavela was an independent Jaina monarch who carved out an empire, but there is nothing in the Hatigumpha Inscription to show that Kalinga regained her independence during his reign. Rather the description of the boyhood of Kharavela as given in this inscription, gives us an impression that he was the son of an independent monarch. The liberation of Kalinga from Magadhan imperialism must have been achieved by one of his predecessors.

It was however left to Kharavela to wage a war of revenge against Magadha to recover from it the honoured seat of Jina which appears to have had a great significance in the religious life of the people, and to re-establish the supremacy of Jainism as the state religion of Kalinga. He succeeded in achieving all these objects one by one. According to the Hatigumpha Inscription he twice led his expeditions against Magadha in the eighth and twelfth years of his reign and his second expedition resulted in the humiliation of the Magadhan king Bahasatimita and the recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. This sacred object appears to have been connected with the state ritual or with the royal household, or else, shorn of its religious significance, it would

not have been counted as a war trophy either by a Magadhan emperor after his victory over Kalinga or by Kharavela after his victory over Magadha.

A panel of sculpture still existing on the Manchapuri cave in the Udayagiri hill, which also bears the inscriptions of Kamadapasiri and Vadrekha, supposed to be the successors of Kharavela, supports our above contentions. T. N. Ramachandran who has attempted to identify the scene depicted in this sculpture, observes as follows :

"The most important scene which arrests our attention in this cave (the Manchapuri Cave) is the central scene on the facade of this Verandah (Plate 1). Through unfortunately mutilated, what remains show a thone with a royal group on the proper left consisting of two men and two women. The first man near the throne is badly mutilated. He is probably the king, by virtue of his proximity to the throne. Behind him stands another royal figure with a tiara resembling the tiara on Mauryan heads found at Sarnath. Let us call him the prince, Behind the prince stand two women of equal status.. The first may be taken to be the queen, the next as the pıincess. Above the king and the prince are two *gandharvas* hovering in the sky and beating a drum suspended on a pole. It is not the bell as R. D. Banerjee took it to be. Above the woman adjoining the *gandharvas* there is a representation of a full-blown lotus which has been readily taken by all to represent Surya. While the attitude of the royal party is to adore whatever was kept on the throne, the flower and the *gandharvas* over the party bring out their importance. Shall we take the scene as one in which the king (perhaps Kharavela), the prince (perhaps Kudepasiri) and the queen or princess are doing honour to the image of the Kalinga Jina which Kharavela recovered from Magadha and restored to his people ?

Another possible identification is with reference to the inscription actually found in this cave. The nearmost king may be Kudepasiri while behind him stands the Kumara (heir-apparent—is he Vadukha ?), in which case, the peculiar tiara can be taken to be a coronet".

The identifications suggested by Ramachandran are most plausible. The scene seem to represent Kharavela and his family as paying homage to the sacred seat of Jina recoverd by Kharavela from Magadha and this scene was caused to be carved by the king Kamdapasiri or Kudepasiri who, according to the inscription was the excavator of the cave on which

it occurs. The scene also leads us to conclude that the successors of Kharavela were al Jainas and they used to take pride in the achievements of Kharavela, particularly in his recovery of the honoured seat of Jina. It is to be noted that the Hatigumpha Inscription refers to *Jinasana* (the seat or throne of Jina) and not to an image of Jina and in the scene, discuseed above, we find only a throne and no image. The monuments of Udayagiri thus mark the peak period of Jaina supremacy in Orissa when freedom had been regained, the defeat from Magadha avenged, the sacred seat of Jina recovered and the revival of Jainism was in full force.

It is noteworthy that Kharavela got his inscription engraved on the Hatigumpha not far from Bhubaneswar. Here in the same locality is found the inscription of Asoka in the hillock of Dhauli not far from Bhubaneswar, which is a record of the victor of Kalinga and which must have reminded the people of their defeat and humilation in the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. Kharavela's inscription at Udayagiri seems to have been intended to counter-effect the Asokan inscription at Dhauli. The latter is a record of the victor of Kalinga and the former the record of the victor of Magadha. The Hatigumpha Inscription coupled with Asoka's own description of the fearful results of the Kalinga war, supplies us with enough materials to reconstruct that in the late centuries of the pre-Christian era, Kalinga presented a persistent challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha. The conquest of Kalinga by the Nandas, its subsequent independence, the necessity of Asoka's reconquest of this country at an enormous cost, Kharavela's war of revenge against Magadha, the recovery of the Kalinga Jina by him and the re-establishment of Jainism as the state religion of Kalinga. all make up a continuous story from the fourth century B.C. to the second or first century B.C. of the rivalry between the two powerful neighbouring countries. The Buddhist record of Dhauli and the Jaina record of Udayagiri occurring in the same locality indicate this rivalry was not merely political but was also religious and cultural in character.

The Hatigumpha Inscription refers to 117 cave temples excavated by Kharavela in the thirteenth year of his reign in the Kumari *Parvata* or modern Udayagiri. All these monuments have not survived to us. Even a casual exploration of this area reveals a number of caves half-buried in *debris* or destroyed by quarries made in the later periods for building the temples at Bhubaneswar. What still exists of the earlier caves excavated by Kharavela and in the subsequent periods of his

successors, has been divided into the following groups on stylistic considerations and on the basis of inscriptions occurring on them :

Group I —Hatigumpha, Sarpagumpha, Vyaghragumpha and Pavana —gumpha.

Group II —Svargapuri, Manchapuri and the adjoining caves.

Group III —Anantagumpha, Tattvagumpha No. 1 and Tattvagumpha No. 2.

Group IV —Ranigumpha and Ganesagumpha.

Of these caves both in Udayagiri and Khandagiri and their cognate members, the first group and the second group certainly belong to the reigns of Kharavela and his probable successors as the inscriptions on them definitely indicate, but about other groups stylistic considerations have been the sole basis for determining their chronology or sequence. However, the conclusion that becomes unavoidable after an examination of these monuments, is that the hillocks now known to us as Udayagiri and Khandagiri and as Kumari *Parvata* and Kumara *Parvata* to our ancients, were the hub of the creative activities of the Jainas in the late centuries of the pre-Christian era. These caves were meant for wandering Jaina ascetics for their sojourn during the rainy season. Kharavela's Hatigumpha Inscription refers to the distribution of white garments by him among the ascetics in the thirteenth year of his reign and this reference indicates that he belonged to the Svetambara sect. The caves might have primarily been intended for the monks of this sect, but, it must be noted that Kharavela extended toleration to all religions. The Hatigumpha Inscription tells us that he honoured the saints of all sects, viz., the Brahmins, Buddhists, Jainas and Ajivakas. So, the caves in course of time became the abodes of the ascetics of all sects.

The architecture of the caves is severely utilitarian in character and has been inspired by the Jaina sense of ascetism. Most of them are so small that they could accommodate only one or two persons at a time at night, although there are some spacious ones of which the Rani gumpha is the biggest. On their walls they bear a variety of bas-reliefs depicting the worship of the Jaina sacred symbols and the panoramic views of the stories of the by-gone days, many of which still remain unidentified. Some scholars have of late tried to identifiy some of these stories by connecting them with the life of Kharavela, but the identifi-

cations they propose are unscientific and of doubtful character. In point of antiquity these bas-reliefs rank with those of Barhut, Sanchi and Bodh Gaya and represent the earliest specimens of devotional art in Orissa.

After the fall of Kharavela's dynasty in about first century B. C. the fortunes of Jainism cannot be clearly traced. From the first century B. C. to the seventh century A. D. no clear chronological history of Orissa is available. Some stray specimens of art and architecture recently discovered throw welcome light on this dark period of Orissan history, but among such specimens the Jaina monuments do not form a prominent group. It seems that Jainism suffered an eclipse with the subsequent rise of Buddhism and Saivism in Orissa. It must be noted that Brahminism remained a major religion of Orissa throughout ages, though Jainism and Buddhism had their periods of ascendancy. The period of Jaina ascendancy in Orissa was over at the beginning of the Christian era and it then continued to co-exist along with other religious sects. Jainism has all along shown a remarkable non-antagonistic attitude towards Hinduism, which, according to the competent authorities, is one of the causes of its survival. The same spirit worked in Orissa and Jainism continued to co-exist as a minor religion along with other religions.

The Jaina images have been traced throughout Orissa, which are assignable not only to the dark period of Orissan history referred to above, but also to subsequent historical periods. They are to be found at Jajpur which was one of the centres of Orissan art and architecture and are to be seen at Akhandalesvara temple premises, at Narasimhapur and at Hatadiha, all situated in or in the close vicinity of Jajpur. They are also to be seen at Ayodhya in the Balasore district, at Khiching and its neighbouring place Nakatipat in the Mayurbhanj district, they are affixed to the wall of the Jagannatha temple at Baripada and are also found at Baidakhia in Keonjhar. Several Jaina images have also been preserved in the Orissa State Museum at Bhubaneswar. Most of the images referred to above, are those of the *Tirthankaras* and were no doubt the objects of worship. The Saivas do not seem to have developed an antagonism towards Jainism as is evident from the fact that they have sometimes allowed the Jaina images to be carved on their temples. The Saiva temple of Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar has thus a number of miniature Jaina images on the outer face of its octagonal compound wall.

The Saiva kings of Orissa also did not develop any antagonism towards the Jainas as evident from the fact that in the reign of the Saiva Somavamsi king Udyotakesari (C.A.D. 1040-1065) Khandagiri again became the centre of the building activities of the Jainas. Some ancient Jaina caves of this hill, *viz.*, the Lalatendu Kesari cave, the Navamuni cave and Barabhuji cave were, as the inscriptions on them clearly prove, rennovated in the eleventh century A.D. These inscriptions were first edited by the late Prof. R. D. Banerjee but since his readings were full of discrepancies they have been re-edited and commented upon by the present writer in Appendix V.

These short inscriptions clearly indicate that Khandagiri again became the centre of the Jaina activities in the eleventh century A.D. in the reign of the Saiva king Udyotakesari who evidently tolerated them. The clear history of Jainism in Orissa after eleventh century A.D. cannot be traced, but, as we have already stated, it continued to be one of the religions of Orissa right up to the modern times when at Khandagiri and Udayagiri a new temple has been erected by the Jainas on the top of the former hill and the images of the Jaina saints enshrined in it. The twin hillocks of Udayagiri and Khandagiri are still a prominent sacred site of the Jaina pilgrimage and they attract devotees from all parts of India. They are also an attractive site of archaeological interest to scholars and visitors alike.

Buddhism

It is doubtful whether Buddhism existed in Kalinga or Utkala in any form before Asoka. The early *Vinaya* texts, the *Nikayas* and the *Jatakas* refer to two merchants, Tapassu and Bhallika, who received the first sermons of the Buddha at Gaya and these merchants have been represented as the inhabitants of Ukkala, identified by some scholars with Utkala (Orissa), but about this identification opinions of scholars vary widely. The *Lalitavistara* and Yuan Chwang's accounts place Utkala in the north-west region of India whereas Utkala (Orissa) is situated in the south-east of the subcontinent. If the evidence of the early Pali texts is to be accepted, we may identify Ukkala with Utkala (Orissa). These two merchants, after receiving the sermons from the Buddha, would have come back to their home-land and would have first propagated the tenets of Buddhism in this land.

The next source of our information about the existence of Buddhism in Orissa prior to the reign of Asoka, is the Buddhist Ceylonese work, *Datha Vamsa* to which we have already made reference in Chapter 4. The story indicates that Buddhism existed in Orissa prior to the reign of Asoka and the kings and the people of Kalinga were worshipping the tooth-relic of the Buddha, enshrined in *stupa*. Besides these few facts, nothing is known about the existence of Buddhism in Orissa before the reign of Asoka.

The spread of Buddhism in Orissa started in right earnest from the third century B.C. after the Kalinga war of 261 B.C. We have already seen that Asoka conquered Kalinga after devastating this country in a terrible war and then incorporated it into his empire. The slaughter and the miseries of thousands of people of Kalinga in this war greatly changed the mind of the great emperor and he found solace in Buddhism. Soon after the Kalinga war he became a Buddhist and started propagating Buddhism throughout India and outside. It is Kalinga which gave him a new faith and therefore, this country also became the region of his special propaganda and proselytisation. He introduced some new features in the administration of Kalinga, which did not exist in the administration of his other provinces. In his Kalinga Edicts the emperor has expressed his solicitude for the people of Kalinga, who must have received his special attention for their material and spiritual uplift. After the Kalinga war Asoka firmly believed that it was through Buddhism that the uplift of the spiritual and moral conduct of people could be achieved.

But the *Dhamma* which Asoka promulgated in his Kalinga Edicts is not specifically Buddhistic. It is *rajadharma* which formed the basis of Asoka's idea of religion. In these two edicts he speaks of heaven and heavenly bliss which did not find place in the Buddha's original preachings, but in his other edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada he certainly preached some of the principles of Buddhism. In his "Forward" to *Buddhism in Orissa* by Dr. N. K. Sahu, Dr. N Dutt observes "Dr. Sahu argues that even Asoka did not propagate his own dharma which is based on ethical Buddhism, but only rajadharma (page 21). Evidently he has formed this opinion on the basis of the two Kalinga edicts of Asoka, whereas he has not taken into consideration the fact that out of fourteen edicts there are at Dhauli and Jaugada eleven edicts which contained his Dharma based on

Buddhism." Besides the Kalinga edicts the other edicts of Asoka are certainly Buddhistic in character and were intended for the spread of Buddhism and Buddhistic ideas in the newly conquered country of Kalinga. At the top of the rock boulder containing Asoka's edicts at Dhauli there is a forepart of a colossal elephant figure, which is considered by all scholars as a sacred symbol of the Buddhists This sacred symbol is also found in the incised form in its full profile on the rock containing Asoka's fourteen rock edicts at Kalsi, near Dehra Dun. In his inscriptions Asoka has at times expressed his firm faith in Gautama Buddha and in his minor pillar edicts at Saranath he has openly come out as the head of the Buddhist church of his state and has threatened the monks, creating schism in it, to expel them from the monasteries. Asoka must have assumed the same position in the Buddhist church so far as Kalinga was concerned.

We do not know the full account of Asoka's missionary activities in Kalinga from any literary source, but the remnants of his monuments in Orissa bear ample witness to such activities. His edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada were certainly intended to attract the people towards Buddhism. The elephant figure at Dhauli symbolizes the birth story of Gautama Buddha, according to which his mother Mayadevi before his birth saw a white elephant descending from the heaven and entering into her womb. This elephant figure at Dhauli was perhaps intended to remind the people of the birth story of Gautama Buddha.

There are also evidences to show that Asoka set up a pillar at Bhubaneswar which is not far from Dhauli. It has now been converted into a huge Sivalingam enshrined in the temple of Bhaskaresvara at Bhubaneswar. The lion capital which originally crowned this pillar was dug out by the present writer from the close vicinity of the Bhaskaresvara temple and preserved in the Orissa State Museum. There was also a huge bell capital lying in the tank known as Asoka Jhara in the close vicinity of the Ramesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. This bell capital in the Asoka Jhara tank might have represented the remnant of another such pillar set up in the neighbourhood of the Asoka Jhara tank. Dr. N. K. Sahu has opined that these pieces were not the remnants of Asoka's monuments and has offered some criticisms which will be dealt with in our chapter on Orissan Art and Architecture. Asoka set up pillars in various parts of his empire and there is no reason to think that he did not set up any one of them in Kalinga, the conquest of which led him to embrace Buddhism. There are therefore still at Dhauli and Bhubaneswar four pieces of Asokan

Art. *viv* , the forepart of the elephant at Duauli, the remnant of the Asokan pillar in the Bhaskaresvara temple, a part of the lion figure originally crowning this pillar, and the bell capital originally lying in the Asoka Jhara tank and now kept in the Orissa State Museum. All these remnants bear witness to the missionary activities started by Asoka in Kalinga after its conquest.

We thus find evidences that Asoka promulgated his edicts and set up pillars in Kalinga, obviously with the purpose of spreading Buddhism and Buddhistic ideas. It is not unlikely that he also built some Buddhist *Stupas* in Kalinga. As we have seen earlier, his capital city in Kalinga was situated in the neighbourhood of Dhauli and Bhubaneswar and it has been identified by scholars with the present Sisupalagarh. In the close neighbour-hood of Sisupalagarh on the right side of the road leading from Bhubaneswar to Puri, there is still a great circular mound which originally seems to have represented a *Stupa*, but no relic from this mound has yet been recovered, which can be connected with the Asokan age. This mound has been despoiled to a great extent, but yet a trial excavation in it may lead to the recovery of some relics for ascertaining its age.

In the post-Asokan periods the *Stupa* architecture certainly made its appearance in the close vicinity of Sisupalagarh. From the neighbour-hood of the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhubaneswar three pieces of railing pillars, originally forming the parts of a fence around a *Stupa*, have been found. The first piece was discovered by Prof. R. K. Mukherji in 1925 and the second by Mr. N. K. Bose in 1938 and the third by the present writer in 1948. The human figures carved on them indicate that they belonged to a post-Asokan period possibly to the periods of Bahrut, Bodh Gaya and Sanchi *Stupas*. These pillars contain lenticular sockets into which the cross bars were fitted. The four Yaksa statues discovered by the present writer from the Bhubaneswar area, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, were also originally utilised in the *Stupa* architecture, possibly on the gate ways of the *Stupas*, supporting architraves, as such figures do in the gate ways of the Sanchi *Stupas*. All these archaeological evidences go to pove that even after the age of Asoka the Buddhist *Stupas* continued to be created, but so much change has now taken place in the contours of the land after more than two thousand years that, the *Stupa* sites cannot be correctly located.

The existence of Buddhism in Orissa in the early Christian era is attested to by the traditions in the Buddhist literature. Tosali, Tamralipti, Che-li-ta-lo, Viraja, Ratnagiri and Jayasrama Vihara are traditionally associated with the Mahayana form of Buddhism, but unfortunately many of these places have not been correctly identified. Among these, Viraja (Jajpur) and Ratnagiri (in the Cuttack district) still contain a very large number of Buddhist images and other relics, which testify to the fact that these places were intimately associated with Buddhism and the creative activities of the Buddhists. Viraja was originally a Brahmanical shrine and it has found mention in the *Vanaparva* of the *Mahabharata* as a place of pilgrimage. But the Buddhist relics, that can now be traced at Jajpur, belong to the periods later than the Gupta age. The Buddhist ruins at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district provide some evidences to show that the monastic establishments in these hills started at least from the 5th-6th century A. D. Mr. R. Chanda in his *Memoris of Archaeological Survey of India* No-44 has published a fragmentary inscription in the cursive Gupta script of the 5th-6th century A.D., probably recording a tract, which indicates that the place existed as a Buddhist Tantrik establishment in the Gupta period. The Jayasrama Vihara has been mentioned in the Talcher Copper Plate Grant of Sivakaradeva III of the Bhauma dynasty, dated A.D. 885. This Buddhist site has been identified by Pandit B. Misra with a small village named Jagati near Talcher, but no Buddhist relics have been discovered from this place.

In the post-Gupta period Hinayanism and Mahayanism prevailed side by side in Orissa, but it is Mahayanism which had a period of ascendancy in this country. By the first century A.D. these two forms of Buddhism, that grew out of primitive Buddhism, became antagonistic to each other. The Hinayanas did not deify Gautama Buddha, whereas the Mahayanas worshipped him as a god. The Mahayanas also created a pantheon parallel to that of Brahmanical Hinduism. The Hinayanas continued to consider Gautama Buddha as a human being and abhorred image worship. The Mahayanas in their ritualistic performances wished the salvation of all creatures but the Hinayanas confined their idea of salvation to themselves and considered the attainment of *nirvana* as the highest goal of life. The Hinayanas wrote their religious texts mostly in Sanskrit, but the Mahayanas retained Pali as their sacred language. These differences sharply divided the Buddhists into two broad groups and they often quarrelled with each other.

By the seventh century A.D. the Hinayanas and the Mahayanas had become sharply divided in Orissa and they derided the principles of each other. From the life of Yuan Chwang it appears that, after his conquest of Kongoda, Harshavardhana heard that the Hinayanas of Orissa were making derisive remarks against the principles of Mahayanism. As he was a staunch supporter of the Mahayanas, he wanted to convince the superiority of Mahayanism in a council. He therefore sent for Acharya Silabhadra, the Chancellor of the great Buddhist University of Nalanda, with a view to arrange such a council, but it is not known from the records of Yuan Chwang's life whether Silabhadra.ever came to Orissa and whether a Buddhist council was held here to establish the superiority of Mahayanism. This episode however indicates that the royal patronage was on the side of Mahayanism. Yuan Chwang during his visit to Odra (Orissa) saw the temples and the monasteries of both the sects.

In his *Buddhism in Orissa* Dr. N. K Sahu maintains that Orissa was the craddle of Mahayana Buddhism. For this conclusion he has relied upon the traditions recorded by the Tibetan historian Taranatha and subsequently reproduced in the Tibetan work *Pag Sam Jon Zang*. The Tibetan traditions can however be placed on surer grounds, if Oddiyana, one of the four great *Pithas* of later Mahayanism, is correctly identified.

About the identification of Uddiyana, mentioned in the Buddhist traditions as one of the great *Pithas* (centres) of Tantrik-Buddhism, there is no unanimity among the scholars. Mm. H. P. Sastri and following him Dr. Binoyatosh Bhattacharya have identified Uddiyana with Orissa, but scholars like Prof. M. Levi and Dr. P. C. Bagchi locate it in the Swat Valley. In his *Studies in the Tantras,* 1939, (pp. 38-39), Dr. Bagchi has given the reasons for his identification of Uddiyana with the Swat Valley. He has shown that both Fa-hien and Yuan Chwang have located this region in the Swat Valley. He has drawn the attention of scholars to a miniature of a Nepalese Ms. of the 8th-9th century A.D. which bears the inscription ' Bajrapani of Mangalakostha of Oddiyana" and he identifies Mangalakostha with Mangalapura, mentioned as the chief city of the Swat Valley by Yuan Chwang. He has further shown that in the more ancient *Hevajratantra* the order of the Tantra *Pithas* has been given as Jalandhara, Auddiyana, Purnnagiri and Kamarupa. He has also cited annals of the T'ang dynasty of China which place Uddiyana in the north west of India.

With all these reasons and arguments he has located Uddiyana in the Swat Valley.

It is however to be noted that the Swat Valley does not contain Buddhist relics, whereas in Orissa hundreds of Buddhist monuments and typical Buddhist-Tantrik images are to be found in a wide tract from Ayodhya in the Balasore district to Banapur in the Puri district. These immense Buddhist Tantrik remains of Orissa justify its identification with Uddiyana and lessen the importance of its identification with the Swat Valley, purely on the literary evidences. We are thus in favour of taking Orissa to be a primary seat of Tantrik Buddhism, but we are unable to accept Dr. N. K. Sahu's location of Sambhala and Lanka, associates with Uddiyana, in the modern Sambalpur region. Dr. Sahu identified Sambhala with Sambalpur and Lanka with the Sonepur region on very insufficient grounds. It is to be noted that the Sambalpur region was all along known as Kosala and in the eighth century A D. to which the Buddhist tradition relates, it was not a part of Uddivisa or Uddiyana identified with Orissa. The name Sambhala or Sambalpur does not occur in any of the numerous inscriptions discovered in the Sambalpur region and Orissa. With the evidence supplied by the Bihar and Orissa District Gazetteers (Sambalpur) Dr. Sahu has identified Sambalpur of Ptolemy's Geography with Sambalpur, but has not noted the fact that no scholar has till now accepted this identification. No antiquity or monument has yet been discovered in the Sambalpur town, which can take its origin back to a period earlier than the sixteenth or fifteenth century A. D., but yet Dr. Sahu seeks to identify it with a place mentioned in Ptolemy's Geography of the first century A.D. Evidently this geographical name is of very late origin, and the name Sambalpur appears to have been given to this place by the Sai ruling dynasty of Sambalpur. There is a tradition about the origin of Sambalesvari which indicates that this deity was brought to the place by the first member of the ruling family of Sambalpur from the north. There is indeed a Sambhalapura in the north about which Mr A. Fuhrer in his *Monuments, Antiquities and Inscriptions, etc.*, 1891, pp.37, gives the following description :

"Sambhal tahsil, lat. 28-32' N, long. 78-38'-45" E., 23 miles S. W. of Muradabad. The modern town covers the summit of an extensive mound comopsed of the ruins of the ancient Sambhalapura. The site of on old fort is indicated by a large mound, it is variously attributed to Prithviraja or to a Raja called Jagatsimha and to one Narasimha." If the tradition

about the origin of Sambalesvari is to be believed, the ruling family of Sambalpur gave in a much later date the name Sambalpur to the present town and the ruling family came from the Muradabad region. To identify this place with Sambhala of very early Buddhist traditions in untenable.

The name Lanka or Paschima Lanka given to the Sonepur region in the Mahada Copper Plate Grant of Somesvaradeva of the eleventh century A D. was also of late origin and it was connected with this region by the mythological-minded people The deity Lankesvari, now being worshipped in the bed of the Mahanadi river near Sonepur, is analogous to Ramachandi of Konarka which is said to have been worshipped by Rama of the *Ramayana* fame before he started to invade Lanka. The Lanka of the Sonepur region cannot be traced from any other record, much less from the records of the eighth eentury A. D. to which Lanka of the Buddhist tradition belongs. Another fact which is to be taken into consideration is that, the images and the antiquities of the Buddhist Tantrik sect are conspicuous by their absence in the Sonepur-Sambalpur region. Had it been a cradle of the Buddhist Tantrik religion, the total absence of the Buddhist Tantrik antiquities in this region would have been hardly possible. The fact is that Indrabhuti like Indradyumna of the Brahmanical mythology is a traditional figure. His historicity can be established only when his existence is traced from more reliable sources other than legends and traditions.

The identifications of Sambhala, Lanka and Indrabhuti thus remain uncertain. It is not possible for us also to accept the view of Dr. Sahu that Lakshmikara, sister of Indrabhuti, married Jalendra, the ruler of the Sonepur region, identified by him with Lanka of the Buddhist traditions. The fact is that a ramble in the Buddhist literature has brought out certain names of places and persons which Dr. Sahu has been tempted to connect with Orissa, particularly with the Sambalpur region, but the historicity of these names has to be proved in each case by the evidences other than legends and traditions. Dr. Sahu has not done so and therefore, the identifications proposed by him will ever remain doubtful. Because of these difficulties Dr N. Dutt in his *Forward* to Dr. Sahu's work has not accepted and confirmed these far-reaching identifications given in Dr. Sahu's book. Dr. Sahu has also attempted on the same traditional evidences that many saints, sages and savants of the Mahayana Buddhist sect were either born in Orissa or were associated with it. He has given the names of Saraha, Nagarjuna,

Savaripa, Luipa, Vajraghanta, Kambala and Padmavajra, Anangavajra, Jalandharipada, Virupa, Kahnupa, Tilopa and Naropa who, according to him, were either born in Orissa or were associated with it. It is true that some of these great persons were the residents of Orissa and some of them actually visited Orissa and lived here for some time, but as we have observed earlier, their association with Orissa has to be proved by the evidences other than traditions and legends. Dr. Sahu has not done so.

From the beginning of the Bhauma rule in the first part of the seventh century A. D. the existence of Bhuddhism in Orissa is attested to by several evidences other than legends and traditions. The first three Bhauma rulers, Kshemankaradeva, Sivakaradeva I and Subhakaradeva I, respectively bore the Buddhist titles, *Paramopasaka*, *Paramatathagata* and *Paramasaugata* clearly showing that they were Buddhists. But the Buddhism of this period, though of Mahayana form, was of a very different type. It seems that Buddhism of this period was tending to merge into Hinduism, particularly into Saivism and Saktism. It is stated in the Neulpur Plate of Subhakaradeva I that Kshemankaradeva, the first member of the dynasty, placed the castes in their proper positions. This evidence proves that he was the supporter of the caste system, even though he was a Buddhist. We know that early Buddhism discarded the caste system, but here we find a Buddhist ruler using his royal power for re-establishing the caste system.

The study of the Buddhist lore, particularly of the Mahayana-Tantrik sect, seems to have been in progress during this period. We have already seen that Sivakara Unmatasimha sent an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gandavyuha*, a part of the *Avatamsaka*, to the Chinese emperor Te-tsong, who received it in A. D. 795. The great monastery of Ratnagiri had become in this period a centre of Buddhist religion, learning, *Tantras* and *Yoga*. The immense Buddhistic ruins of this hill along with those of the adjoining hills of Udayagiri and Lalitagiri, bear witness to the activities of the Mahayana Buddhists in Orissa. Prajna, an inhabitant of Kapisa of the north-west frontier, is said to have studied *Yoga* in a monastery of the king of Orissa prior to his journey to China. In the Tibetan work *Pag Sam Jon Zang* it is stated that Bodhisri practised *Yoga* at Ratnagiri in Orissa. The first part of the Bhauma rule in Orissa was thus marked by the ascendancy of Mahayana Buddhism, but the subsequent rulers of the dynasty, as their titles in their inscriptions

indicate. became Brahmanicial Hindus. Buddhism did not completely die out, but it became changed and it distributed its potentialities among the Brahmanical sects, particularly Saivism and Saktism.

During the Bhauma period *Mandalas*, *Mantras* and *Japas* were widely in use and theit prevalence is attested to by the inscriptions en the Buddhist images to be found at Ratnagiri, Udayagiri and Lalitagiri in the Cuttack district; Jajpur and Khadipada in the Bhadrak sub-division. The Khadipada Image Inscription records the name of the sage Raghula who is said to have been proficient in *Mandalas*. Though the latter Bhauma rulers became Brahmanical Hindus, they continued to believe along with the people of Orissa in the efficacy of the Tantrik practices. The next ruling dynasty, the Somavamsis, did not favour the Tantrik practices. They were the followers of Saivism and from the beginning of their rule Saivism had a period of ascendancy in Orissa. They appear to have discourged Tantrik practices. In the *Bhakti Bhagavata* of Kavi Dindima Jivadeva it is stated that the famous Brahmin, Bhavadeva, who was the family priest of Udyotakesari and who was also honoured by the family of Somesvara, lifted the world when it was being submerged in the ocean of the *Tantras*. The Somavamsi kings performed *Asvamedha Yajna* at Jajpur, invited the Brahmins proficient in sacrifices, from outside and built numerous Brahmanical temples of which the temples of Jagannatha at Puri and of the Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar were most prominent. Accordrng to traditions it is Yayati I who re-established the shrine of Jagannatha which had been deserted for one hundred and forty-four years. The archaeological evidences and traditions thus combine to show that the Brahmanical Hinduism revived in Orissa during the rule of the Somavamsis.

The Gangas also patronized Brahmanical Hinduism and they were themselves staunch Brahmanical Hindus. If traditions are to be believed, the Buddhists were persecuted during their rule. The *Chaitanya Bhagavata*, composed by Isvara Dasa towards the end of the sixteenth century, records a tradition as to how Anangabhimadeva sided with the Brahmins and clubbed thirty-two Buddhists to death when they failed to satisfy him in answering a test. The *Madalapanji* also records a similar story of the persecution of the Buddhists by Madana Mahadeva, who is represented as a brother of Ananagabhimadeva.

After the Bhauma-Karas the Buddhist Tantrik sect seems to have been supressed in Orissa. The Mahayana form of Buddhism went underground and some of its principles constituted the essence of the Mahima Dharma and Nathism in Orissa. But both of them flourished independently and they are not recognized as the branches of the Mahayana Buddhism. Some scholars have called the followers of the Mahima Dharma as crypto-Buddhists, even though the exponents of this religion consider it to be an altogether new form of religion founded by Mahimasvami. *Sunyata* or the void which is one of the principles of Mahayana Buddhism, has however been accepted as a cardinal principle of their religion by the Mahima Dharmis. In the Oriya works of the sixteenth century the Mahayanic principles are also to be traced. The five great writers of this age, known as the *Pancha Sakhas*, have also embodied in their works some principles of Mahayana Buddhism particularly the principle of *Sunyata* or the void, but they too do not say that they were Buddhists The form of religion which they expounded in their works recognizes Jagannatha as the supreme deity and also as an incarnation of the Buddha, but at the same time some of them also recognize Sri Chaitanya as an incarnation of Srikrishna. The *Panchasakha* literature is generally interpreted as containing the old form of Orissan Vaishnavism, which was later superseded by the Neo Vaishnavism (the Gaudiya Vaishnavism) preached by Sri Chaitanya.

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Saivism

Saivism is one of the oldest forms of religions of India and its origin can be traced back to the periods of the Harappa and Vedic civilisations. In Orissa it would have existed in some form from very early times, but its changing fortunes in this country, as attested to by archaeological monuments, can be traced back to the fifth century A.D. There are evidences to show that by the fifth century A.D. Saivism became the dominant form of religion of Orissa and Buddhism and Jainism receded to the background. We have observed earlier that the huge Siva *lingam*, now to be found in the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhubaneswar, was originally an Asokan Pillar and the fragmentary Lion Capital dug out by the present writer from the close proximity of the temple, was its capital. There are distinct evidences in the body of the *lingam* and the Lion Capital that both were deliberately destroyed and there is a line of inscription on the Lion Capital, in the script of the fifth century A D, showing that such destruction took place in the fifth century A.D. The pillar, after heavy chiselling,

was converted into a Siva *lingam* and the capital after deliberate breakage was buried in front of the temple within a very short distance from the *lingam* The manner in which a Buddhist monument was converted into a phallic emblem indicates a violent struggle between the Buddhists and the Saivas, of which a tradition seems to have found place in the *Ekamra Purana*, one of the sacred texts which describe the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox stand-point. The author of this work devotes eight chapters (from the 25th of 32nd) to the description of a dreadful war which is said to have taken place between the gods and demons on the bank of the river Gandhavati, now known as Gangua flowing in the close neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar. In this war the gods with the help of Siva are said to have been victorious and the demons defeated. The archaeological evidence is thus supported by a traditional account and we shall not be far from the truth, if we conclude that the 5th century A.D. was a period of conflict between Buddhism and Saivism in which the latter triumphed. It may be noted that in the fifth century A.D. there was a revival of Hinduism in India under the great Gupta emperors of the north. and the same revival also took place in Orissa.

To the period when Asokan pillar was destroyed we may also assign a number of rock-cut caves which have till now received very little attention from scholars. These caves are still to be found in the close vicinity of the temple of Bhaskaresvara, mostly to the west of it They have been excavated on the edges of an immense laterite quarry which seems to have supplied stones for the buildings and gateways of Sisupalagarh, situated about a mile to the south-east of this place. The most remarkable group of these caves, known as Pancha Pandava Gumpha which is still in a tolerably good condition, consists of three spacious chambers with spacious verandahs. The proximity of these monuments with the Bhaskaresvara temple clearly indicates that they were intended for the abodes of the Saiva ascetics.

That the Saiva ascetics lived in caves to practise penance, is also evident from the archaeological remains at Dengaposi in the Keonjhar district. Dengaposi and Sitabhinji, the two neighbouring villages, contain a number of natural rock shelters in the hills, which attracted the Saiva ascetics. That these shelters were the abodes of the ascetics in the fifth or sixth century A.D. is proved by a line of writing in the tempera paintings of this place, assigned to this period, which, as observed earlier, represent a royal procession. That the Saiva ascetics

lived with their disciples in these caves, is also evident from the rock inscriptions there. The main object of worship of the ascetics was a *Mukhalingam* still to be found there. The archaeological remains of Dengaposi and Sitabhinji and the caves near the Bhaskaresvara temple furnish us with the evidence that the Gupta period in Orissa was marked by Saiva ascendancy.

The fortunes of Saivism in Orissa in the sixth century A.D. cannot be traced, but it may be presumed that its triumphant progress continued in this century also. In the first part of the seventh century A. D. Sasanka, the king of Gauda, who was the overlord of Kongoda as is evident from the Ganjam Plate of Madhava Raja II, dated A.D., 619 seems to have given a definite turn to the ascendancy of Saivism in Orissa. His coins indicate that he was a follower of Siva and Yuan Chwang's accounts represent him as an enemy of Buddhism, who destroyed a number of famous Buddhist monuments. It seems that he played a great part in the east in the revival of Hinduism and stamping out Buddhism. A persistent tradition recorded in the four sacred books connected with the Saiva shrines of Bhubaneswar, states that Sasanka who ruled up to Kalinga, built a Saiva temple in the shrine of Tribhuvanesvara (Lingaraja). The temple which Sasanka built, cannot however be located or identified Since his activities at Bhubaneswar are not attested to by more authentic evidences other than traditions, we cannot confirm the literary evidences of the sacred texts, but they raise a strong presumption that Sasanka had something to do with the progress of Saivism at Bhubaneswar and in Orissa. Sasanka, like Indradyumna and Indrabhuti, is not a mere traditional figure, but he is a historical king, known from inscriptions, coins, Yuan Chwang's accounts and Bana's *Harsha-Charita*. His overlordship over Orissa is proved by unquestioned epigraphical records. Therefore, when the sacred texts of Bhubaneswar credit him with the building of temple at Bhubaneswar, .this evidence cannot be lightly brused aside. One of the verses of Chapter 48 of the *Ekamra Purana* defines Sasanka of the tradition as follows :

"My devotee Sasanka, the lord of the earth, with his mind fixed on none (except on me), will rule a portion of the earth extending up to Kalinga."

We have therefore identified Sasanka of the tradition with the king Sasanka of Gauda.

During the Bhauma rule which started from A. D. 736, it is the Pasupata sect of Saivism that had a period of ascendancy in Orissa. Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar has shown that Lakuli, the first Pasupata teacher, was born in the first century A. D. at Kayarohana, modern Karvan in the defunct state of Baroda, and was considered to be the last incarnation of Siva and that, of his four disciples, Kusika established himself at Mathura and Garga at Somanatha in Kathiawad. The frequent occurrence of the Lakuli images on the early temples of Bhubaneswar has a great significance on their origin. The Lakuli images are found within Chaitya arches in the early groups of temples at Bhubaneswar and have four small male figures, two on each side, each with a *pustaka* held in the left hand and the right showing *abhaya mudra*. They are seated on lotuses with stalks rising from a common lotus forming the pedestal of the central figure. The central figure, Lakulisa, hold a *lakuta* and shows *Dharma-parvarttana-mudra*. Because of their *yogasana*, half-closed eyes, *Dharma-parvarttana-mudra* and the distinct treatment of hair, they are likely to be mistaken for those of the Buddha, but their distinct attributs *lakuta* discloses their identity. The four male figures found in association with the central figure, are certainly the representations of the four disciples of Lakuli who, as we know from the *Vayu*, and *Linga* Puranas and also from the *Chitra Prasati* of the Chalukya ruler Sarangadeva, were Kusika, Garga, Mitra and Kaurushya. The common origin of all these four disciples is indicated by the lotuses on which they sit and which rise from a common lotus forming the pedestal of their master and that they were all preachers, is indicated by the books in their hands.

The Lakuli images on the early Bhubaneswar temples indicate that such monuments were associated with Pasupatism. The names of some temples of Bhubaneswar indicate that they were connected with the Pasupata sect and an inscription on the *Jagamohana* of the Parsuramesvara temple proves that its original name was Parasaresvara. The name of the temple Kapilesvara at Bhubaneswara and one of the sacred texts known as *Kapilasamhita*, were associated with Kapila, one of the Pasupata teachers. The names of the temples like Mitresvara and Nakulesvara were also connected with the names of Pasupata teachers. It is to be noted that Nakulesvara, Kapila, Mitra and Parasara were all famous Pasupata teachers.

It will thus appear that the name of Lakuli and those of some famous teachers of his sect were connected with the earlier shrines and

one orthodox work. Besides, the oldest *matha* of Bhubaneswar still follows a custom which was observed by the followers of Pasupata sect. It was a practice with the sect to set up a *lingam* to represent a dead teacher and to erect a temple for it. The same practice is still being followed in the Bharati *matha* of Bhubaneswar, as a result of which a *gurvayatana* has sprung up within its compound. There are now as many as fifteen miniature temples of standstone and laterite, each of which contains a *lingam*. Besides, a number of *lingams* are to be found in the open space and the niches and if credence is given to the statement of the Mahanta of the *matha*, many more are still buried in the kitchen garden. Since each of the *lingam* represents a generation of teachers, we may reasonably conclude that the origin of the *matha* goes to the time of the earliest standing temples. This conclusion gains ground from a tradition mentioned in the seventeenth chapter of the *Ekamra Purana* that Yama, the builder of the Yamesvara temple, gave a splendid *matha* to a Pauspatacharya who lived in the close vicnity of the temple. As it was a practice with the Pasupatas to set up *lingams* to represent their dead teachers, this practice seems to have led to the setting up innumerable Siva *lingams* at Bhubaneswar, which the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied works represent as ten milions or ten millions less by one. Pasupatism appears to have been responsible for increasing the number of temples at Bhubaneswar.

Although the influence of the Pasupata sect can thus be traced in the early shrines of Bhubaneswar, it is difficult to say whether it came from Kayarohana, Somanatha or Mathura which are yet known to have been the earliest centres of the sect. The names of the successors of Kusika, the disciple of Lakuli, who established a branch at Mathura are found connected with two early shrines of Bhubaneswar, Parasaresvara (now known as Parsuramesvara) and Kapilesvara, and with one orthodox text viz., *Kapilasamhita*. Pasupatism made its way to Orissa either from Kayarohana or Somanatha or Mathura. But it is difficult to ascertain as to when and how it established itself at Bhubaneswar. From a study of the existing temples of Bhubaneswar it however appears that Saivism, Pasupatism, Saktism and Tantrism, all became inseparably mixed up and formed a strange amalgam in the early medieval period of Orissa. Indeed in the early medieval period such a state of things came to pass in the field of religion not only in Orissa but also in all other parts of India and scholars believe that the followers of different sects followed almost the same practice. Mr. D. C. Sastri observes : "It appears that Lakayatikas, the Vamadevas, the Sisnadevas, the Kapalikas, the Kalamukhas, the Aghoris, the

Vamacharins, the Sahajiyas and the Tantrikas all walk along the same tract with slight difference." It is true that in Orissa Saktism became mixed up with Pasupatism. The Vaital temple, the Sakta shrine of Bhubaneswar assigned to the Bhauma period, shows in its sculptures a strange amalgamation of Saktism, Saivism and Mahayana Buddhism. While the presiding deity is a Chamunda, it bears such images as Lakulisa, Virabhadra, Bhairava, Gajantakari murti, Amoghasidhi and the male deity with the head of a boar. The adjecent Saiva temple of Sisiresvara, also assigned to the Bhauma period, bears on it the Buddhist Tantrik images like Amoghasiddhi, Kuvera, Avalokitesvara etc. It thus appears that in the early medieval period, particularly during the Bhauma period, Orissa followed a mixed form of religion, from which Saivism cannot be extricated and treated separately. During this period four Sakta shrines on the four sides of the Vindu Sarovara were established and they bear the influence of Saktism as much as of Saivism. It however appears that during this period Siva was considered to be superior to Vishnu and other deities. In the Markandesvara temple situated on the western bank of the Vindu Sarovara, a panel of sculptures appears on its southern facade, in which Vishnu and Brahma have been represented with folded hands, paying respect to the Siva. From this evidence it appears that Siva was considered to be the supreme deity of the Brahmanical pahtheon.

The three small Saiva temples of Baudh, which were probably created by the Bhanja rulers in the Bhauma period, bear distinct Tantrik influences. Their ground plan in each case is starlike, which was most likely necessitated by the cult practised in them. The *saktis* of the *lingams* enshrined in them, are also starlike and these shapes indicate that both the temples and deities were made in the forms of *mandalas* or mystic figures with the help of which the Tantrikas wanted to attain their *siddhis*. The Saiva temples of Jajpur, built during this period, also bear Tantrik influences. Viraja, the presiding deity of the place, has found mention in the *Mahabharata* and the *Harivamsa* and her antiquity is to be traced to a much earlier period. But the rituals of the deity seems to have undergone a great change in the Bhauma period and connected with Tantrik practices.

The *Bhakti Bhagavata*, a Sanskrit work of the Ganga Period states that "the earth was being submerged in the ocean of the Tantras" in the Bhauma period and the Tantras had become inextricably mixed up with all forms of religions in Orissa, when the Somavamśis started their

rule in this country about A.D. 931. The Somavamsis were the staunch Saivas, as their surnames *Mahasivagupta* and *Mahabhavagupta* indicate. In their copper plate grants they also style themselves as *Parama-Mahesvaras*, but the type of Saivism which they professed, was not the same as was prevalent in Orissa during the Bhauma period. It seems to have been influenced by the *Mattamayura* sect of Saivism which prevailed in central India with its centre at Kandambaguha, identified with Kadawaha in the former state of Gwalior. The name of Gaganasiva (also known as Vyomasiva), the famous ascetic of this sect, is known from his inscription in the old Somesvara temple at Ranipur-Jharial in the Titlagarh subdivision of the Bolangir district, and from it is apparent that Gaganasiva had also a secondary establishment at Ranipur-Jharial. The Somavamsis of Kosala were in the occupation of this territory before they came to Orissa, and it is very likely that the type of Saivism professed by them was influenced by the *Mattamayura* sect. But the Somavamsis were typical Hindus, clinging to a family deity of their own, but worshipping all other deities and extending toleration and patronage to all other sects. They revived the most important Vaishnava shrine of Jagannatha at Puri; the kings of this dynasty were instrumental in raising the great Saiva temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar and Udyotakesari's mother Kolavatidevi built the temple of Brahmesvara at Bhubaneswar. It is they who are credited with the performance of *Asvamedha* sacrifices at Jajpur, to them are attributed the Saptamatrikas, which are now being worshipped on the bank of the Vaitarani at Jajpur. It is one of the kings of this dynasty, who seems to have set up the beautiful monolithic pillar at Jajpur, which is now known as Subhastambha and which was originally crowned with a Garuda figure. They thus seem to have been cosmopolitan in their religious outlook, retaining all the conventions that had acquired religious sanctian through long practice in the preceding centuries. As we have already seen, Udyotakesari tolerated the creation of the Jaina monuments at Khandagiri during his reign. But such revolting practices as were indulged in by the Tantrik Saivas, do not seem to have been favoured by them. The Sakta images in their terrific forms continued to be sculptured on the temples, as is evidenced by a few such images appearing on the Brahmesvara, but the only Sakta image that served as the presiding deity of the Gauri temple near Kedaresvara, assignable to this period, is found in the pacific form. The images of Lakulisa, which are to be found in large numbers in the Muktesvara, do not appear at all on the other temples built in the Somavamsi period, except only one on the Lingaraja. In the Bhauma period,

as we have already seen, a mixed form of Saivism and Saktism prevailed in Orissa, but the Somavamsis restored them to their purer forms.

The Gangas were originally Saivas, but after their conquest of Orissa they became more inclined towards Vaishnavism as represented by the Jagannatha cult, than towards Saivism. During their period of rule Saivism continued to be a major sect and the Ganga kings and their relatives continued to show reverence to Siva by building temples for him and by donating lands for their maintenance. Chodaganga, soon after his conquest of Orissa donated a perpetual lamp in the shrine of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar and granted villages for its maintenance. His younger brother, Pramadideva, donated in A.D 1142 a similar perpetual lamp at the shrine of the Kedaresvara at Bhubaneswar with similar land grants. Svapnesvaradeva, the commander-in-chief of the Ganga army under Rajaraja II and Anangabhimadeva II, built the temple of Meghesvara at Bhubaneswar. Numerous Ganga inscriptions appear on the Saiva temples at Jajpur, Bhubaneswar, Mukhalingam, Draksarama and Bhimesvara etc., conclusively proving that, though the Ganga rulers later became inclined towards Vaishnavism, they retained their veneration for lord Siva. During their rule two innovations seem to have been introduced into the main Saiva shrines of Orissa. One was the erection of a spacious hall, known as *Natamandira*, in the important shrines and the other was the provision of perpetual lamps. Barring these two, they retained all other conventions of the Somavamsi period. Culturally the Suryavamsi period merged into Ganga period. During the Suryavamsi period no new feature was introduced into Saivism. They followed the pattern of Saivism established by the Gangas.

Vaishnavism

Vaishnavism, like Saivism, is also a very old cult and its origin goes back to the Rigvedic period when Vishnu was conceived as a member of the solar family. Vaishnavism might haveexisted in Orissa from very early times, but we can connect it with archaeological monuments only from the early medieval period. On the temples of Orissa belonging to the 7th-8th century at Bhubaneswar and other places, Vishnu holding *sankha chakra*, *gada* and *padma* makes his appearance as a subsidiary deity. In the Svarnnajalesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, assigned to the 7th century A D., an image of Vishnu with the distinctive attributes had been originally enshrined in the central niche of the southern facade and it was removed

to the Orissa State Museum by the present writer. The scenes from the life of Rama, an incarnation of Vishnu, have been depicted on the outer walls of the Svarnnajalesvara. Of them, the scenes of Rama cutting down *Sapta-salas* and killing Vali, and of Hanumana preparing for flying to Lankapura, are clearly discernible and identifiable. These panels of sculptures giving panoramic views of Rama's life story, prove beyond doubt that the Ramayana story was fully known to the builders of the temple

The scenes of Siva's marriage appear on the Bharatesvara, Parsuramesvara and the Svarnnajalesvara at Bhubaneswar. In the Parsuramesvara scene, Siva and Parvati stand in the centre, dressed as the bride-groom and the bride. Agni, with flames rising on both sides, sits to the proper right of Siva and below him is found a foliated vase with a miniature Ganesa by its side. To the right of Agni, Brahma, with the three heads shown, is pouring water from a vase. To the right of Brahma, Surya is standing with the usual lotuses. Two female attendants, with their swords in their hands, stand to the left of Parvati. To the left of the last female attendant the four-armed Vishnu stands holding a vase with two hands and a conch shell with the other two. Here we find an assembly of all the main deities of the Brahmanical pantheon in which Vishnu is a prominent one.

In the groups of Saptamatrikas to be found in the Parasuramesvara, Vaitala and Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar and also at Puri, Jajpur and several other places, Vaishnavi makes her appearance with the distinctive attribute Garuda on the pedestals.

Vishnu and his female counterpart have thus been introduced into the sculptures of the early medieval period, but in the coastal areas of Orissa Vishnu images as the presiding deities of temple shrines are not traceable. In the hilly region one solitary Vishnu temple is still in existence at Gandharadi, ten miles from Baudh in the Phulbani district. An image of Harihara in which the combined figures of Siva and Vishnu are to be seen, appears on the northern facade of the Vaitala temple. Here also Vishnu appears as a part of Siva and not as a supreme independent deity. We have already referred to a panel of sculpture appearing on the southern facade of the Markandesvara temple, in which Brahma and Vishnu with folded hands are paying homage to Siva. The superiority of Siva over Vishnu has thus been established.

Child Krishna makes his appearance on the temples of Bhubaneswar. An architectural fragment containing a panel of sculpture

showing the *Kaliya-dalana* scene, has been preserved in the Orissa State Museum. Its provenance was Bhubaneswar and evidently it belonged, as its stylistic development indicates, to a temple which is not later than the seventh century A.D. Reference may also be made to a panel containing the figures of Nanda, Yasoda and the child Srikrishna that appears on the southern facade of the *Vimana* of the Lingaraja temple and another in almost the same form on western facade of the small temple at the north-east corner of the Brahmesvara. According to the Brahmesvara inscription this is one of the four small structures built along with the main temple with which it was certainly contemporary. In both the panels Nanda is a bearded figure, sitting opposite Yasoda, who is engaged in churning curds and the child Srikrishna is shown by the side of the vessel containing curds.

At Jalauka near Chhatia in the Cuttack district, a temple with four subsidiary ones in four corners of the compound, is still in existence in a tolerably good condition. The presiding deity is a beautiful Vishnu image with all his attributes. A study of its sculpture and architecture points to the fact that it was a contemporary of the Muktesvara at Bhubaneswar built in the Somavamsi period. Reference has already been made to a beautiful monolithic pillar of Jajpur which is now known as Subhastambha set up, in all likelihood, in the Somavamsi period. A beautifully carved figure of Garuda originally crowned the pillar, but as a result of vandalism it was pulled down, badly mutilated and thrown. It is now to be found in the compound of the S.D.O.'s quarter at Jajpur. The Subhastambha was certainly a Vaishnavite monument.

The Meghesvara temple built by Svapnesvaradeva, the commander-in-chief of the Ganga army towards the close of the twelfth century, contains on its southern facade a small panel of sculpture depicting *Godhana-harana*. In the scene the multilated central figure is Srikrishna seated on a couch or stool with female figures, no doubt Gopis, on both sides and with a herd of cows on the pedestal. The little bearded figure to be found in the right top corner, is witnessing the whole scene. The bearded figure should be identified with the Brahma.

The Ananta-Vasudeva temple, situated on the eastern bank of the Vindusarovara, is a Vaishnava shrine which had originally a commemorative inscription, now preserved in the hall of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. It is stated in the epigraph that the temple was built for Srikrishna and Vala-vasa (Velarama) on the

bank of the Vindusarovara by Chandrika Devi, daughter of Anangabhimadeva (III), in the Saka year 1200 corresponding to A D. 1278. The epigraph further discloses that Anangabhimadeva married his daughter Chandrika to Paramardideva the ornament of the Haihaya family. Paramardi, after having successfully fought with the enemies of the Narasimhadeva I, ultimately went to heaven. As we have already shown, the husband of Chandrika fell fighting on the battle field in the war against the Muslims in Bengal and after his death, the widowed lady built the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva for Achyuta (Vishnu) for whom she is rapresented to have developed a devotion from the childhood. We have seen that Bhauma queen Tribuvana Mahadevi I was greatly devoted to Vishnu and she makes a particular reference to the deity of her devotion in her copper plate record. No monuments built by her for Vishnu can now be identified but it is not improbable that she created some Vaishnava shrines. While the male members of the royal families professed their official faith, the female members were left free to be devoted to a faith other than official. The Vaishnava faith of Tribhuvana Mahadevi and Chandrika Devi is an instance in the point.

The figures of Rama, Lakshmana, Sita and Hanumana appear on the balustrades of the window on the northern side of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple, clearly proving that Rama was considered to be an incarnation of Vishnu and as such, he, along with his associates, found place on a temple meant for Srikrishna and his brother. The free-standing images of the Boar and Dwarf incarnations are also enshrined respectively in the southern and northern niches of this temple. On the southern side of the temple there were also five images on the balustrades of the window, consisting of Srikrishna and the Gopis, but three of the balustrades have somehow become detached and have now been utilised in a miniature temple on the eastern bank of the Vindusarovara in the close vicinity A few other cult imagas like Lakshmi and Sarasvati appear on the *Jagamohana* of the Ananta-Vasudeva near the balustraded window in the north and they are no doubt the members of the family of Vishnu.

The sculptures of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple built in A.D. 1278, clearly show that the ten incarnations of Vishnu ware wellknown to the people of Orissa and all the incarnations were considered identical with Vishnu, though representing his different forms. In the compound of the Paramaguru family at Bhubaneswar, on the walls of a small

temple the ten incarnations of Vishnu appear, in which the last two incarnations *viz.*, the Buddha and Kalki have also found place. The art and architecture of this small temple point to the fact that it was built in the Later Ganga period. Stray images of the different incarnations of Vishnu are also found on the pedestals and side-panels of the Vishnu images discovered in the different parts of Orissa. These archaeological evidences show that the ten inrcarnations of Vishnu had become familiar in Orissa. Of the ten incanations, the incarnation of Nrisimha appears to have received the special attention of the rulers and the people. A temple of Lakshmi-Nrisimha is to be found in the compound of the Lingaraja and the Nrisimhanatha temple at Simhachalam has developped into a great shrine from the days of the Ganga. The Srikurmanatha temple at Srikurmam is another Vaishnavite temple which seems to have become prominent during the rule of the Gangas. Jayadeva's *Gitagovinda* composed in the twelfth century, appears to have been responsible for popularising the ten incarnations. Jayadeva's invocations to them are the most melodious and beautiful songs and they have become classic and highly popular throughout Orissa. In the Oriya *Mahabharata* composed by Sarala Dasa in the fifteenth century there are references to necklaces with the representa-tions of the ten incarnations of Vishnu. This also indicates that the different incarnations of Vishnu and their special attributes were known even to the artisans of Orissa.

Jayadeva and Narahari Tirtha appear to have made Vaishnavism popular in Orissa during the Ganga period. We have already seen that Narahari Tirtha, a disciple of Ananda Tirtha, the founder of ths Dvaita Philosophy, lived in Orissa for long twelve years and exercised a great influence on the Ganga royal family. He acted as regent to the boy king Narasimha II and also worked as Governor for some years. When Narasimha came up age, Narahari placed him on the throne and went back to his *guru* with the images of Rama and Sita, which was his original mission assigned to him by Madhava Tirtha. Narahari's numerous inscrip-tions at Simhachalam and Srikurmanatha testity to his religious activities for the spread of Vaishnavism of his own sect in Orissa and Kalinga. It is perhaps due to his influence that the later Ganga kings alternately bore the names of Narasimha and Bhanu. It may be noted that, by this time *Bhanu* or the Sun was being considered as an aspect of Vishnu.

In Orissa the Sun cult ultimately merged into the Vaishnava cult. The Sun conceived as an aspect of Vishnu and was called Viranchi

Narayana. The great temple of Konarka and the beautiful Sun temple at Palia in the Balasore district, are the only two known examples of Saura monuments. Two colossal images of Padmanabha or Seshasayi Vishnu are to be found near Talcher in the Dhenkanal district. At Sarang a colossal image of Padmanabha, thirty-two feet in length, has been carved on the stony bed of the river Brahmani and has the special attributes of Vishnu in this form. At Bhimkand, eighteen miles from Talcher, another colossal image of Padmanabha measuring fifty-one feet and a half in length, is also to be found. This image can be assigned to the eight and ninth century A.D. Stray images of Vishnu assignable to the later Ganga and the Suryavamsi periods have been discovered from the various places of Orissa. In the Prachi valley of the Puri district huge images of Krishna-Vasudeva have been discovered. But Krishna images with the special attributes of flute and peacock feather are rarely found. One such image, probably belonging to the transitory period of the fourteenth or fifteenth century A.D., is now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. The deity stands cross-legged with four hands, two of which hold a flute. This image indicates that Krishna-Vasudeva of the earlier conception was being merged into Krishna the flute-holder who became famous for his dalliance with the Gopis.

The cult of Krishna Gopivallabha was made popular in Orissa by Jayadeva. This form of Vishnu with Radha as his consort as described in the *Gitagovinda* represents the conception of Vishnu of the later Sahajiya sect. The *Gitagovinda* might have been popular in Orissa, but Orissa's earlier poets and people did not accept the religious philosophy expounded in it. Jagannatha Dasa's Oriya *Bhagavata*, composed in the sixteenth century, does not refer to Radha at all. This work is not an Oriya translation of *Śrimadbhagabata Puranam* and the poet has deviated from the original at a number of points. He could have easily introduced Radha into his *Bhagavata*, but he has not done so. The other members of the *Panchasakhas* have also scrupulously avoided her in their works. The earlier poet Sarala Dasa who composed his *Mahabharata* in the first part of the fifteenth century, has ridiculed the tenets of the Sahajiya sect as propounded in the *Gitagovinda*.

Sarala Dasa has shown respect in his writings to all sects, but there is one exception to this general pattern of his religious behaviour. The Sahajiyas were an extreme class of Tantrikas who advocated free indulgence in sexual acts and sometimes they themselves acted as free-

lances. This sect has been the target of Sarala Dasa's satires. There is an episode in the fifth canto of the *Gitagovinda* in which a husband and a wife were out at night to meet their paramours, but losing their way in intense darkness, met each other and soon became engaged in copulation without knowing each other. Eventually they could recognize each other as husband and wife through the utterrance of soft words at the time of engagement. This episode has been utilised by Sarala Dasa to produce a satirical story in the *Adi Parava* about Srikrishna of the Sahajiya sect's conception.

One day, so runs the story, Radha clothed the old Duti (the female go-between) with her own clothes and bedecked her with her own ornaments including the tinkling anklets and sent her to bring Srikrishna. The latter was anxiously waiting for Radha on one of the branches of the *Kadamba* tree (*Anthocephalus*) when Duti arrived there. Lured by the tinkling sound of her anklets and mistaking her for Radha in the intense darkness Srikrishna at once jumped from the branch of the *Kadamba* tree and soon became engaged in copulation with her. In the intense darkness he failed to recognize his partner, but when he ultimately knew her to be the old Duti, his remorse knew no bounds. He cursed Cupid and warned the future generations not to indulge in illicit love. When the old Duti was off the scene, he found to his great bewilderment that there had been an exchange of their clothes. The old Duti had taken away his clothes in darkness, leaving her own form him. Hating to wear her feminine garments, Srikrishna split a piece of bamboo and using it as his loin-cloth went back home.

In the meanwhile Duti with all the evidences of her recent love affair on her body returned to Radha and on being asked about them explained them away on various pretexts. Radha was satisfied with her explanations like an unsophisticated girl and expressed her sympathy with Duti who had taken so much trouble for her. The love story of Srikrishna and the old Duti ends with the birth of an ugly and bald-headed son from their illicit union. This son was later helped by his father Srikrishna to become a burglar and still later was employed by Vidura to dig a tunnel through which the Pandavas escaped when the house of wax (*Jatu-griha*) was set on fire. Under instruction from his father, Srikrishna, this son also dug a tunnel from the *Kadamba* tree to the bed-chamber of Radha, so that their love affairs could proceed without hindrance.

This story written in the inimitable language and style of Sarala Dasa, has been embellished with various details producing humorous effect at every stage. By means of contrast the poet has also brought out its satirical elements, His Duti is an old woman, but is extremely beautiful too, and is capable of giving birth to a son. His Radha is a clever lady who could nicely plan the discomfiture of Srikrishna, but yet she is also a simpleton like an unsophisticated girl when she accepts the explanations of Duti at their face value. Srikrishna's manly contempt for a feminine dress is contrasted with his shameless and foolish device to use a split bamboo as his loin-cloth. Srikrishna has been conceived to be most handsome person, but yet the son that was born to him by Duti was an ugly creature. The poet brings his satire to a climax when he says that the father sought the help of his son for his illicit love affairs and the son also readily extended it to him.

The poet has provided all these contrasts with a view to hold the tenets of the Sahajiya sect to ridicule, which, when pursued, produce such contradictory and conflicting results. In this story he has put a long statement in the mouth of Srikrishna, detailing the evil effects of illicit love and has himself addressed a long invocation to Kamakshi, the goddess of love, praying to her to prevent people from pursuing a course of illegal love like the one pursued by Srikrishna, so that "the world will not be destroyed". From these statements It is clear that Sarala Dasa was opposed to the Sahajiya sect, and he wrote the story with a view to illustrate the evil cffects of their tenets.

The Sahajiya-Tantrikas have also been represented by him as some of the villains of his *Mahabharata*. The Brahmin Puranjana who built the house of wax (*Jatu-griha*) under the order of Duryodhana and set fire to it while the Pandavas were living there, was according to him a resident of Jnanapura situated on the bank of the Ganges in the neighbourhood of Ganga-Sagara-Sangama. According to the poet's description, all the residents of this place were proficient in black art (*kujnanis*) and they killed men through it. Sarala Dasa believed that the Sahajiya-Tantrikas were capable of killing men through their incantations and tracts. Another villain of his *Mahabharata* was Gaura-moksha who has been described as the son of Puranjana, the builder of the house of wax, and as such, was also a Sahajiya-Tantrika. He is the villain of the story of *True Mango* of which a summary has been produced by Dr. Mayadhar Mansimha (*History of Oriya Literature*, 1962, p. 67). From these and several other references to the Sahajiya-Tantrikas in his

Mahabharata, it becomes apparent that the poet did not quite tolerate their faith and practices.

It will thus be seen that Sarala Dasa abhorred the faith and practices of the Sahajiyas whose religious philosophy forms the basis of Jayadeva's love lyric, the *Gitagovinda*. Neither Sarala Dasa nor the other great poets like Balarama Dasa, Jagannatha Dasa, Ananta Dasa and Yasovanta Dasa who immediately followed Sarala Dasa, had anything to do with the religious philosophy expounded by Jayadeva in his *Gitagovinda*. Till the sixteenth century Oriya poets followed a pattern of Vaishnavism which was very different from the one to be found in the *Gitagovinda*. A change in the conception of the Krishna cult, however, took place in Orissa from the time of the long sojourn of Sri Chaitanya at Puri till his death in A.D. 1533. It must be said that this great saint never favoured nor followed the type of love between Srikrishna and Sriradha as described in the *Gitagovinda*. He wanted to emotionalise and idealise the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha, that had no relation with carnal desire. His followers in Orissa and elsewhere did not however keep the love, as preached by him, within the meaning that he had given to it. All the later Vaishnava Oriya poets writing on Krishna Charita (the life story of Krishna), followed more Jayadeva than Sri Chaitanya in dealing with the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha and almost all of them ended their works with a full description of sexual intercourse between them as it is to be found in the *Gitagovinda*. The great Oriya poets like Dinakrishna, Abhimanyu, Bhakta Charana, Baladeva and Gopala Krishna have all followed in their works the model of the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha as it is depicted in the *Gitagovinda*, with one deviation that, like Jayadeva, they have not represented Radha as a *Khandita* (a woman forsaken by her lover). Orissa was occupied by Muslims in A.D.1568 and thereafter it became benighted country. In the dark-age that followed in Orissa, the Oriya Vaishnava poets were very much influenced by the petty chiefs, their patrons, who favoured the type of love depicted in the *Gitagovinda*. A class of Oriya literature known as *volis* originated in this period and it must have exercised a great demoralizing influence on the people at large. The *volis* dealt with the love between Srikrishna and Sriradha in a form that transgressed all the limits prescribed by the human society for controlling the sexual relation between man and woman. In these works Srikrishna is described enjoying sexual pleasure in various guises, such as the garland-maker, the dealer of ornaments,

the boat-man, the dealer of brass utensils and even as a tiger or sometimes as a mouse. In fact Srikrishna was depicted as a voluptuously lewd person whose only business was to enjoy sexual pleasure in all conceivable forms. In the sixteenth century and after Orissa produced a Vaishnava literature so rich, so varied, so great in poetic attainments, and so great in number that its parallel can hardly be found in anyother contemporary literature of India but yet this unparalleled literature was vitiated by a debased form of religious philosophy forming its theme.

It is to be noted that Radha as a deity or consort of Srikrishna was introduced into the Orissan religion and culture at a very late stage of her history. Radha does not appear in the vast Indian Sanskrit literature except in a single verse of the *Saptasati* of Hala of uncertain date. It is also not known whether she was created first in Bengal, Orissa or in any other region of India. In the *History of Bengal*, Hindu period, (pp. 403-404) it is stated that Radha was probably, a Bengali innovation made shortly before the time of Jayadeva. Mr. P. Acharya on the other hand maintains in his article entitled *Radha-Krisna Murti Pujara Itihasa* (*Odisara Pratnatattva O Anyanya Pravandha*, 1969, pp. 411 ff) that Radha originated in Orissa. Be it as it may, the fact remains that before the sixteenth century the image of Radha was not associated with the image of Gopala or Srikrishna to be found in Orissa. The shrines of Kshirachora Gopinatha at Remuna in the Balasore district and of Sakshigopala in Puri district did not have originally the images of Radha associated with them. Besides these two famous shrines, there are also other shrines of Gopinatha or Gopala at Balianta, Sarakana and Hirapur in the Puri district, but they too originally had no Radha images in them. The Gopinatha images of Gopinathapura near Jajpur and of Malatira near Agarapada in the Balasore district had similarly no Radha images by their sides. It is stated in the above mentioned article of Mr. Acharya that an image of Radha was taken from Orissa to Vrindavan where it was associated with the image of Srikrishna. We have seen earlier that Narahari Tirtha also took the images of Rama and Sita from Orissa and presented them to his teacher Madhava Tirtha. The transportation of the images of Radha, Rama and Sita to the other regions of India does not indicate that the cults of these images originated in Orissa. It only indicates that Orissa had the best sculptors who produced the most beautiful cult images. The entry of Radha into Orissan religion and culture thoroughly changed their original character and gave a different turn to her history from the sixteenth century

onwards. Prof. R. D. Banerjee's view that Sri Chaitanya demoralized the Oriyas is wholly unacceptable. Sri Chaitanya never favoured or preached the type of love between Srikrishna and Sriradha as it is depicted in the Oriya literature created after the death of the saint in A.D. 1533. Prof. Banerjee had no knowledge in Oriya literature and had he any, he would have been convinced that the Oriyas and their literature were influenced by Jayadeva and not by Sri Chaitanya.

Saktism

In the early part of Orissan history Saktism established itself as a separate cult, but it later merged into Saivism so much so that its separate entity is hardly discernible. The Sakta shrine of Viraja at Jajpur existed in the pre-Christian era as is clearly evidenced by the *Mahabharata* the *Harivamsa* and the *Vayu Purana*. It is stated in the *Vana Parva* that the Viraja Tirtha was situated in the Kalinga country on the river Vaitarani. It is stated in the *Vayu Purana* that Viraja was the wife of Nahusha and the mother of Yayati and that she was the mindborn daughter of the *Pitris* (the dead ancestors). It is further stated that she is to be propitiated by the Vaisyas desiring successes. This description of Viraja also occurs in the same form in the *Harivamsa*. There is thus no doubt that the Sakta *Pitha* of Viraja at Jajpur is a very ancient shrine.

In the later stage of Orissan history before the Gupta period, the Sakta shrine of Viraja seems to have been dominated by Buddhism. We have stated earlier that in the pre-Gupta period Guhasiva of the *Dathavamsa* tradition was probably the ruler of Kalinga and his name was probably connected with-Guhadeva Pataka or Guhasiva Pataka, which was the capital of the Bhaumas. The Buddhist tradition of *Dathavamsa* shows that Guhasiva was a staunch follower of Buddhism and his predecessors were also the Buddhists. It is not unlikely that the Sakta shrine of Viraja was greatly influenced by Buddhism during the rule of Guhasiva's family. There was therefore the necessity of reforming this Sakta shrine during the Gupta period, when there was a revival of Brahmanical Hinduism in India. There is a well-known tradition that Gayasura was killed by Vishnu and that the head of his dead body fell at Gaya, the navel portions at Viraja or Jajpur and the legs on the Mahendra mountain and that at these three places the great Brahmanical shrines sprang up. The Buddhist influence in the Viraja shrine seems to have been eliminated in the Gupta period and

it seems to have been reconverted into a pure Brahmanical shrine with Viraja as its presiding deity.

A tradition recorded in the Viraja *Mahatymya* which forms a part of the *Skanda Purana*, states that there was a great Brahmanical sacrifice at Jajpur, performed by Brahma and that Viraja was born from the sacrificial pit. The image of Viraja, now under worship in the temple at Jajpur is a two-handed Mahishamarddini. The image of Mahishamarddini depicted on the Gupta temple of Bhumara is fourhanded. The late Mr. R. Chanda has therefore maintained that the image of Viraja now under worship, belonged to the fifth century A.D. at the latest.

The Sakta shrine of Viraja was again influenced by Tantrik Buddhism in the Bhauma period. We have already observed that the Bhaumas had their capital at Viraja and that the earlier rulers of the dynasty were Buddhists, but the Buddhism of this period, as already observed, was a mixed form of religion in which Buddhism, Saivism, Saktism and Tantrism had become strangely amalgamated. This mixed form of religion must have influenced the Sakta shrine of Viraja. There are several Sakta images, particularly of Chamunda, at Jajpur, which were the objects of worship by the Saktas, Saivas and Buddhist-Tantrikas.

The great Saiva centre of Bhubaneswar has also a number of Sakta temples which show an amalgamation of Saivism, Saktism and Tantrik Buddhism and these temples were built during the Bhauma period. The most ancient Sakta shrine of Bhubaneswar is the temple of Vaitala and its sculptures clearly prove that the strange esoteric rites were being performed in it. During the Bhauma period four Sakta shrines sprang up on the four sides of Vindu Sarovara and they are now known as Vaitala, Mohini, Uttaresvara temples. The name of the Sakta shrine on the east of the tank, which still exists, has been lost. These Sakta shrines contain either the images of Chamunda or of Mahishamarddini. Of them, the Vaitala is most prominent and a study of its sculpture and architecture indicates that the strange esoteric rites including human sacrifice, were being performed in it.

The name Vaitala has been derived from the word *Vetala* or spirit with the help of which the Kapalikas and the Tantrikas wanted to attain their *siddhis*. It is stated in the *Svarnnadri-Mahodaya* that the venerable

goddess Chamunda garlanded with skulls exists on a spot on the west not far from the tank Vindusarovara, and that she is of terrific form and is known as Kapalini. Evidently the shrine of Vaitala is referred to in this passage. This Kapalini was the deity of worship of the Kapalikas. Though the Kapalikas were the worshippers of Siva, the deity of their worship was very often a Chamunda. The deity of Chamunda now under worship in the Vaitala temple, is of terrific form and she was the main deity of shrine worshiped by the Kapalikas Act V of the *Malati–Madhava* drama of Bhavabhuti provides us with the information that a Kapalika, Aghoraghanta by name, wanted to sacrifice to Chamunda the noble lady Malati who had been procured for the purpose by his terrible female disciple Kapalakundala. From the *Parsvanathacharita* we get the information that Kali praises a Kapalika who is ever collecting skulls for her, and is just about to achieve 108th skull by whose means she is to fulfill her purpose. These works thus prove that Kapalikas used to sacrifice human beings to the goddess Kali or Chamunda. The story of Kanakalekha in the *Dasakumar-charita* and that of Ratnachandra in the *Mallinatha-charita* also show how innocent and beautiful women were being sacrificed by the Kapalikas. Vadiraja–Suri in his *Yasodhara-Kavya* describes the preparation of a Kapalika for the sacrifice of two pretty children who had been procured for the purpose. The temple of the Kapalikas, now known as Vaitala, was a shrine for sacrificing human beings and other animals. The basement of a stone *yupa* which was utilised for the sacrifice, is still to be found in front of the door of the Vaitala temple. Unlike the cellas of other temples where light and shade intermingle to create a serene atmosphere, the sanctum of the Vaitala is intensely dark. The seriousness of the awful esoteric rites that were once performed here, must have been heightened by the darkness of the cella and by the presence of some images in their most terrific forms. Among the terrific figures carved on the inner walls, occures a Bhairava depicted in the most hideous and terrific form that human imagination can ever conceive. This image might have been another deity of worship, for, the Kapalikas take Bhairava to be the creator, protector and destroyer of the world and believe that all other gods are subservient to him. The form of Saktism that we find from a study of Vaitala temple is not an independent one and it certainly allied itself with Saivism and Buddhist–Tantrism. We have already seen that the Vaitala temple not only bears the Sakta images, but also the Saiva and Buddhist-Tantrik deities. The Kapalikas who followed this mixed form of religion were an extreme sect of Saktism or Saivism or Tantrism. They indulged in such revolting practices as wearing skulls, drinking, howling, sacrificing human beings,

eating food in human skulls and keeping alight sacrificial fire with the brains and lungs of men.

Besides the four Sakta shrines on the four sides of the Vindusarovara at Bhubaneswar, there are also other smaller shrines at the place in which the Chamundas are still being worshipped. One such shrine, known as Bhuasuni, is in the neighbourhood of Sisupalagarh and the other is near the house of Mr. Satyapriya Mohanti. All these images bear the characteristics of the same age, and are all depicted in terrific forms with sunken bellies and with emaciated and sinewy bodies garlanded with skulls, and seated on corpses with jackals by their sides. The presiding deity of the largest temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanj is also a Chamunda showing the same characteristics and it may be that it was the creation of the Bhauma age, though it seems to have received the status of a presiding deity at a later stage of its history.

The worship of Sapta-Matrikas was another form of Saktism which can be traced back to the seventh century A.D. if not earlier. The groups of Sapta-Matrikas are to be found in the Parasuramesvara, Vaitala and Muktesvara temples at Bhubaneswar. Two groups of these deities are to be found at Jajpur of which one is being worshipped in a small temple on the bank of the river Vaitarani and the other group, badly mutilated, is to be found in the compound of the quarter of the S.D.O. of the Jajpur subdivision. Another group existed at Chahata in the Dharmasala Police Station of the Cuttack district and all the images of the group have now been preserved in the Orissa State Museum. At Puri the Sapta-Matrikas are to be found in a shrine on the bank of the Markandesvara tank. All these groups, besides containing the images of Varahi, Indrani, Vaishnavi, Kaumari, Sivani, Brahmi and Chamunda, also contain the images of Ganesa and Virabhadra. The earlier Matrikas do not hold babies in their arms, but the babies are invariably found in the arms of the later Matrikas. This iconographic peculiarity divides the Matrikas of Orissa into two broad groups, earlier and later. The earlier Matrikas seems to have been in prevalence in the Sailodbhava and the Bhauma periods and the later group with the babies as the distinctive attributes, seem to have originated in the Somavamsi period. The worship of the Matrikas seem to have been widespread in Orissa and this worship formed an essential part of Saktism.

Sometimes Chamunda and Varahi were selected out of the group and worshipped as single deities. Some of the temples with Chamundas as the presiding deities have been mentioned above, and the Varahi shrines

can also be traced in different parts of Orissa. A Varahi temple stilll exists at Chaurasi in the Prachi valley of the Puri district. This temple is of *Khakhra* or *Gaurichara* veriety of Orissan temple architecture and is similar to, but smaller than the temple of Vaitala at Bhubaneswar, but it seems to be later than its Bhubaneswar prototype. It is not unlikely that similar esoteric rites were also followed here. Another Varahi shrine is to be found at Narendrapur near Gadi in the Balasore district. The presiding deity was being worshipped in a thatched house, but now it is enshrined in a temple. A single image of Varahi was lying in the Raja Bagicha of the Nilagiri town in the Balasore district, and it seems to have originally belonged to a shrine. The part of an ancient fort named Kichakagada at Khiching in Mayurbhanj district, is known as Vahri which is a corruption of Varahi. Evidently a shrine of Varahi existed here, but it cannot now be traced. The Varahi worship was thus widespread in Orissa. She was supposed to be the cause of all epidemics and it was believed by the people that, to ward off all epidemics it was necessary to propitiate her.

The Gangas do not seem to have favoured and patronized the worship of Sakti in Orissa. A tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji* states that Chodaganga banished all goddesses from Orissa. Another tradition recorded by Sarala Dasa tn the *Madhya Parva* of his *Mahabharata* points to the fact that Chodaganga was responsible for the removal of Ramachandi from her original shrine at Konarka to the seashore at Liakhia Muhana. Another tradition recorded in a *Panji* discovered from Berhampur, indicates that Chodaganga was antagonsitic to all Sakta images excepting a few like Viraja. All these traditions point to the fact that Chodaganga did not favour or patronize Saktism. In the Ganga period Saktism took a different form. In this period all male deities were provided with consorts or female counterparts. In all Ganga temples built after the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva (A.D.1278), the *dikpalas* or the guardian deities appear with their female counterparts. Indra, for instance, appears along with Indrani, both being carved one abeve the other and both having identical characteristics, weapons and mounts. In the earlier temples the female counterparts of the guardian deities do not make their appearance. The innovation introduced shows that in the Ganga period it was thought necessary to provide consorts to all male deities. The shrine of Lingaraja ut Bhubaneswar had originally no separate temple for Parvati. The temple of Parvati, now to be found in the Lingaraja compound,

was built in the Ganga period. Its three-chambered porch, its architecture and its sculpture clearly indicate that it is a Ganga monument. The great temple of Konarka had originally a temple of Chhaya, the consort of the Sun god, of which the basement has come down to us. Some earlier scholars have maintained that this temple was meant for Maya Devi, mother of Gautama Buddha, but this identification is wholly unacceptable. The supposition of the presence of a Buddhist shrine in the compound of a Brahmanical Hindu temple in the thirteenth century, is preposterous. The name of the deity for which this temple was meant, was therefore Chhaya and not Maya. In the compound of the Jagannatha temple at Puri the temples of Vimala and Lakshmi seem to have been built during the Ganga period During the Ganga rule Saktism thus took a different turn in Orissa.

There are still numerous Sakta shrines in Orissa, of which the shrines of Mangala at Kakatapur, Charchika at Banki, Sarala at Jhankara, Ramachandi at Konarka and Samalesvari at Sambalpur, are most famous. The dates of these shrines cannot be determined.

Cult of Jagannatha

The origin of the Jagannatha shrine and his cult are shrouded in obscurity. One great difficulty is that for the early histary of Jagannatha we have only some legends and no other evidences. The legends again vary from source to source and make the task of extricating history from them almost impossible. What is true to the faithful is not true to the historian. The faithful take the legends as the true history of Jagannatha notwithstanding their supernatural and variable character. We need not relate here the story which states how the dead body of Srikrishna came floating from Dvarika to Puri, turned into wood and was ultimately carved into the images of Jagannatha and his associates. The earlier details of this story given in the *Puranas* do not tally with those of the same story given by Sarala Dasa in his Oriya *Mahabharata* composed in the fifteenth century A.D. The story of the origin of Jagannatha given in the *Vana Parva* of Sarala Dasa's *Mahabharata* relates that Srikrishna's dead body came floating from Dvarika to Puri and turned into wood. This fact was known to Jara Savara and his wife Lalita and they were instructed by Indra to keep it secret. Accordingly Jara Savara kept the sacred object in the dense forest and worshipped it for several years In the meanwhile the King Indradyumna, son of King Galamadhava of Somavamsa, came to know of it. The name of Indradyumna's wife was Gundakeri and he was the

ruler of Sakalya Dvipa. Indradyumna became eager to trace out the dead body of Srikrishna turned into wood and therefore, to trace it out he sent a Gauda Brahmin named Yadu who was the son of Vedasravana Vasukara and grandson of Chandakara. The rest of the story relates how the Brahmin Yadu came to Puri lived in the village of Jara Savara and ultimately traced out the sacred object worshipped by the Savara chief. After that Indradyumna came to Puri, got the sacred wood carved into three images of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra and enshrined them in a temple built by him. This story of the origin of Jagannatha widely differs from the same story given in the *Puranas* and in an Oriya work named *Deulatola*. In these versions of the story Indradyumna has been respresented as the king of Malava. Galamadhava was not his father, but was an altogether different later king who falsely claimed to be the builder of the first Jagannatha temple built by Indradyumna.. According to these versions the name of the Savara who worshipped Nilamadhava or the sacred wood was Visvavasu and his daughter's name was Lalita who was ultimately married to Vidyapati.

It will thus be seen that the legends which have come down to us about the origin of Jagannatha are of highly conflicting character. They can give us no true history of Jagannatha. The matter-of-fact of history of lord Jagannatha can be reconstructed only when some corroborating evidences are obtained from the more reliable sources like epigraphic records and coins or from the objects obtained from a systematic excavation somewhere at Puri. Till then the history of the origin of this great Hindu shrine will continue to be a guess-work.

The institution of lord Jagannatha at Puri, however, seems to be of great antiquity with its history going back to the pre-Christian era. In Chapter 114 of the *Vana Parva* of *Mahabharata* the sage Lomasa accquaints Yudhishthira with the sacred places of Kalinga. He first acquaints him with the shrine of Viraja, situated on the river Vaitarani. Yudhishthira after having taken a plunge into the river Vaitarani heard a voice, which Lomasa explained to be that of the dwellers of the forest reciting *mantras*. Then he explained to Yudhisthira the sacredness of the spot from which the voice came. He said that once the self-existent (Svayambhu) performed a sacrifice here and gave the entire earth to Kasyapa. The earth was angry and sank into the Netherland. Kasyapa propitiated her and she uprose and showed herself in the form of an alter. The bottom of the altar reached the sea. Yudhishthira was advised by Lomasa to ride upon the altar and

Yudhishthira followed the advice of Lomasa and rode upon the altar and took a plunge in the sea. The sacred place described in this passage evidently refers to a shrine other than the shrine of Viraja situated on the river Vaitarani This sacred place, as its description indicates, was situated on the seashore. In all likelihood the sacred spot referred to in the *Mahabharata* was Puri situated on the sea coast. If this interpretation is acceptable, the origin of the sacred shrine of Jagannatha goes back to the pre-Christian era, and should therefore be considered as old as the origin of Viraja at Jajpur The *Mahabharata* has distinctly stated the name of the shrine of Viraja, but it has not given the name of the sacred spot mentioned immediately after it. The unnamed sacred spot was evidently Puri.

Indradyumna, who prominently figures in all the legends as the builder of the first temple of Jagannatha, still remains a legendary person and his historicity has not yet been established. Had it been possible to prove his historicity, it would have possible to throw some light on the early history of the shirne. The numerous copper plate grants and stone inscriptions of the ruling dynasties of Orissa do not refer to lord Jagannatha. The absence of reference however, does not prove that he did not exist in Orissa. It only shows that the deity had not become so famous as he came to be later. There is a reference in the Khurda Plates of Madhava Raja II of the Sailodbhava dynasty to lord Madhava, the holder of the disc, and this Madhava is identified by some scholars with Nilamadhava, which was the earlier name of Jagannatha, but the identification seems to be far-fetched.

The word Purushottama which is another name of Jagannatha and also of the sacred city of Puri, occurs in the Hindol Plate of Subhakaradeva III, but it is capable of yielding two meanings. The relevant passage in which this word is found, has been translated as "it was heard that being an overlord, he was deserted by the soldiers (lit. horsemen), but his glory was never impaired by his adversaries and he was the best of men." This verse like many other verses of the Bhauma copper plate inscriptions, is capable of yielding two meanings. The word *visadi* means "one who was deserted by his horsemen" and it also means "one who was sad (*visadi*)". Similarly the word Purushottama means "the best of men" and it also means "the city of Purushottama" which is another name of Puri. The reference is thus ambiguous and we are not sure whether it means the city of Purushottama or the king Subhakaradeva I of the Bhauma dynasty.

We have already referred to the story of Raktavahu invasion recorded in the *Madalapanji* in Chapter 6, which is probably an echo of the Rashtrakuta invasion of Orissa under Govinda III in the reign of Subhakaradeva I of the Bhauma dynasty. If this interpretation is accepted, we may be sure that the sacred city Purushottama (Puri) and the temple of Jagannatha, Balabhadra and Subhadra existed in the early Bhauma period of the eighth century A.D. We have also stated earlier that the Bhaumas came from Assam. Both Kamarupa and Uddiyana (identified by many with Orissa) were the primary *pithas* of Vajrayana, and Jagannatha and Kamakshya, respectively of Orissa and Assam (Kamarupa) were established on the spots bearing identical name Nilachala and this name Nilachala is still attached to both the great shrines of both the states. It is not therefore, improbable that the Bhaumas built a temple at Puri for lord Jagannatha and worshipped him as a Buddhist Tantrik deity. The name Nilachala of the Jagannatha shrine seems to have originated from the Bhauma period.

The indubitable references to lord Jagannatha and his temple are however found in the later Ganga copper plate records in which Chodaganga, the founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa, is represented as the builder of the present Jagannatha temple at Puri. We have already observed in Chapter 7 that Yayati I also built a temple at Puri for lord Jagannatha. Both Yayati I and Chodaganga were actuated by political motives for paying a greater attention to the shrine of Jagannatha, which must have acquired a great sanctity by the time they ruled in Orissa. Both these monarchs did not possess any legal claim to the throne of Orissa and, therefore, they wanted to placate the public opinion of this country by building the spectacular temple of Jagannatha whose cult had a great significance in the national life of the Oriyas, and who was considered to be the unquestioned supreme deity of their country.

The probable course of the history of Jagannatha seem to be that in the earliest times of his existence he was a Brahmanical deity worshipped as an altar as described in the *Vana Parva* of the *Mahabharata.* The altar was probably a wooden one and like the image of Jagannatha, liable to be renovated every twelve years. It next came to the custody of the Savaras who seem to have been the rulers of the region. Then the Bhaumas came from Assam in the first part of the eighth century A.D., ruled over Orissa, obtained the shrine from the Savaras, got the wooden alter carved into three images, enshrined them in a temple built on the spot and gave it the name Nilachala which was the name of the famous shrine

of Kamakshya in their homeland of Assam. Since the early Bhauma rulers of Orissa were Mahayana Buddhists it is most likely that three images carved represented *tri-ratna* as suggested by General Cunningham and explained by Dr. Mahatab. In the next two political periods Yayati I of the Somavamsi dynasty and Chodaganga of the Ganga dynasty built spectacular temples in the shrine which gradually became famous as a great religious centre of the Hindus. The survivals of the first two temples built in the Bhauma and Somavamsi periods, might still be lying in different parts of Puri, used as later fixations. Puri has not yet been archaeologically surveyed.

References to lord Jagannatha or his shrine at Puri in the medieval Sanskrit works, are many. The Sanskrit work *Jnana-Siddhi* assigned to the eight century A. D. and attributed to Indrabhuti, opens with a salute to *Jagannatha* worshipped by 'all sages who have conquered all their desires'. The word *Jagannatha* in this sense also occurs in several other verses of the same work. In these references the word has been used in its etymological sense meaning 'the lord of the universe' but some scholars through a forced interpretation maintain that the *Jagannatha* of the verses refer to lord Jagannatha of Puri. This interpretation cannot be accepted. A definite reference to lord Jagannatha of Puri occurs in the Sanskrit drama *Anargha Raghava-Natakam* by Murari, assigned to the medieval period. The *Sutradhara* of the drama clearly states that it was meant to be staged in festival of lord Purushottama of the sea shore studded with the *Tamala* trees. The famous astronomer Satananda clearly states that he was a resident of Purushottama and that his famous work *Bhasvati* was completed in the Kaliyuga year 4200 or A. D, 1099 which falls in the closing part of the Somavamsi rule. Dr. H. K. Mahatab cites a number of other Sanshkrit works composed before the Ganga rule in Orissa, in which lord Jagannatha or his shrine at Puri has been referred to (*Odisa Itihasa*, Part I, pp. 186-190). From the beginning of the Ganga rule in Oriss, the mention of lord Jagannatha and his shrine in the Sanskrit and Oriya works became a rule rather than an exception.

For several reasons the shrine of Jagannatha became most famous from the beginning of the Ganga rule in Orissa in the early part of the twelfth century A. D. The spectacular great temple built by Chodaganga on the charming sea-shore, attracted the notice of all Hindus. The great antiquity of the deity enshrined in it also enhanced its sanctity. The political conditions of India after the Turkish invasion in the closing part

of the twelfth century A. D., also enhanced the sacredness of Jagannatha's shrine. The Muslims rapidly occupied the neighbouring regions of Orissa but Orissa itself remained a strong independent Hindu kingdom up to A.D. 1568. The faithfull flocked to Puri to follow their religious performances unmolested.

The cult of lord Jagannatha is a composite one and the diverse elements that compose it, have got into it at various stages of its development. Its composite character became well-marked in the Ganga period. It is really surprising how the diverse cults, so different in conception and origin and sometimes even antagonistic to each other, could be welded together into a cosmopolitan form of religion that bacame the order of the age. Before the commencement of the Ganga period Saivism, Saktism and Vaishnavism were the three main cults which existed side by side in Orissa, each preaching its own superiority, but at no time either in theory or practice, losing its separate entity. In the Ganga period there were attempts to amalgamate them into one form of religion that contained the principles of each, but yet exclusively represented none. The *pithas* or shrines continued to bear distinct names in accordance with the cults of their origin. Puri, Bhubaneswar, Konarka, Mahavinayaka and Viraja or Jajpur, the traditional five *pithas* representing five distinct cults, continued to be respectively termed as Vaishnava, Saiva, Saura, Ganapatya and Sakta centres, but the form of worship that came into vogue in them became essentially a cosmopolitan one. The movement aimed at a synthesis of cults and sects by adopting principles not merely from the different cults of Hinduism, but from Buddhism, Jainism and from the primitive cults that were practised by the primitive people of Orissa. The cult of Jagannatha embodies all these diverse elements and affords the best example of this synthesis.

It is, therefore, no wonder that different scholars would put different interpretations on the origin and the development of the Jagannatha cult. It is maintained by some scholars that the images, now known as Jagannatha, Subhadra and Balabhadra, were originally *triratna* symbols worshipped by the primitive Savaras, and the Savara origin of the cult is further sought to be supported by the existence in the Jagannatha temple of a class of servants known as Daitapatis (*Devata-patis* or the custodians of the deity), who claim their descent from the Brahmin Vidyapati through the Savara mother Lalita. It is also suggested by some that these three images represent Ananta, Vasudeva and Ekanamsa as given in the *Brihatsamhita*. Some scholars

also think that they represent Buddha, Dharmma and Sangha and one scholar would like to trace their origin to Jainism. The views of the different scholars on the subject are, no doubt, partially right, for in reality Jagannatha grew into an institution embodying the principles of all the sects and cults known to India. The shrine of Jagannatha was much earlier than the period of the Gangas, but the character of the cult in its earlier phases is not definitely known. During the Ganga period the final shape of Jagannatha cult embodying the principles and ideas of various sects had been reached and the theory of its Brahmanical origin emphasized and given wide publicity. Brahmanism was a great unifying factor in the history of Indian civilisation and in its gradual development one may recognize the assimilation of various heterogenous ideas and beliefs, all synthesized into the larger concept of Hinduism. The emphasis on the Brahmanical origin of the Jagannatha cult is nothing but an attempt to endow the various strains, that went to the formation of this cult, with an authoritative sanction. The orthodox interpretation of the three images as current in the Ganga period and the subsquent period of the Suryavamsis, the last independent Hindu dynasty of Orissa, came down to the early British period when Stirling wrote his *An Account of Orissa* in 1822. It has been recorded by Stirling that according to the orthodox interpretation, the three images of Jagannath, Balabhadra and Subhadra respectively respresent Vishnu, Siva and Durga. The Jagannatha religion in its final phase thus sought to synthesize the three main cults of Hinduism, viz. Vaishnavism, Saivism and Saktism, but at the same time it also retained some practices of the older cults and religions to which it owed its origin.

Although the cult originated and developed at Puri, it did not really remain confined to that place, but it gradually spread to other shrines of Orissa. As a matter of fact, it became the religion of Orissa, and not of the Jagannatha temple alone. The spirit of the age in which the synthesis of the cults took place manifested itself in art, architecture and literature of the period, of which enough materials are now available. The cult as well as the principles which formed it, influenced the religious history of Orissa. The great temple at Konarka which, to judge from the presiding deity, was purely a Saura shrine, bore the stamp of this cosmopolitanism. It is difficult to ascertain the form of worship that was in vogue in that great temple, for worship had long been abandoned there; but among its innumerable sculptures, there are still to be found several panels in which the

representations of a Siva *lingam*, Jagannatha and Durga are depicted side by side, with a worshipper paying homage to them all. The worshipper is a royal personage who most likely represents the Ganga king Narasimha I, the builder of the temple.

The great temple of Lingaraja which, unlike the temple of Konarka, is still under worship, affords ample evidence to show how this Saiva shrine was influenced by the Jagannatha cult. The influences of the Jagannatha cult are to be discerned in the daily worship of the deity, in the *mantras* with which he is invoked, in the offerings which are given to him, in the surroundings in which he is worshipped, in the festivals which are held in his honour and in the orthodox literature in which he has been extolled and the modes and merits of his worship propounded. It is now an accepted fact with the priests here that the Lingaraja is a combination of both Vishnu and Siva. In other words, he is Harihara and not Hara alone. A natural line that exists in that *Svayambhu lingam* (Lingaraja) is pointed out by them as the line demarcating the Siva and Vishnu portions of the same deity which is invoked as Harihara. Hemlock and hemlock leaves which are generally given to a Siva-lingam are not allowed in the Lingaraja temple. The leaves of *Vilva* and *Tulasi*, which are favourites respectively of Siva and Vishnu are used in daily worship.

The temple and the surroundings in which the Lingaraja is now worshipped, underwent important changes and modifications to fit in with the new conception about the presiding deity. During the Ganga period the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa* were added to the Lingaraja temple and so the *Vrisha-stambha* which now stands in front of the *Bhogamandapa*, would have been a work of that period. This *stambha* bears at the top not only a *vrisha* (bull) the mount of Siva, but also a Garuda, the mount of Vishnu, which having been placed side by side in front of the temple, have evidently been meant to make the synthesis of the two cults visual to a visitor at his first approach to the shrine. The crowning members of the great Lingaraja can be seen from a distance and the topmost two of them, as in other temples, are an *ayudha* (weapon) and a *pataka* (flag). In order to bring home to the general public that the shrine belongs to both the sects, the *ayudha* which must have originally been a *trisula*, was replaced by one consisting of half a disc and a trident. It is said that this change was brought about by a daring man who climbed to the top of the spire in the dead of night under the orders of a Ganga king, pulled down the original *ayudha*, replaced it by this new and composite device. This man is said to have been granted

rent-free lands and given the little *Nishanka-malla* (the fearless hero) which is still borne by his descendants living in the Nuapalli village near Bhubaneswar. Some orthodox Saivas explain the disc as the *pinaka*, the bow of Siva, but this explanation is untenable in view of the fact that the *pinaka* or bow is never used as a crowning member in any Saiva temple.

In remodelling the Lingaraja temple the Ganga kings also introduced some Vaishnavite features which are not to be found in any Saiva shrine. In the southern door-Jambs of the *Natamandira* are to be found the images of the Vaishnava *dvarapalas* Jaya and Vijaya in place of Chanda and Prachanda. These images holding in the upper two hands *Sankha* and *Chakra* and in the lower two a *Gada* stuck to the ground, are close prototypes of the *dvarapalas* of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple built in A.D. 1278 and they furnish us with the further evidence that the *Natamandira* was erected during the Ganga period. The interior of the *Natamandira* also contained arrangements for the *Jhulana* festival which is observed in the Jagannatha temple at Puri, but which has now been somehow discontinued in the Lingaraja temple. On the western side of the main temple of Lingaraja and on the northern side of its *Bhogamandapa* the images of Jagannatha and Lakshmi-Narayana have been enshrined so that a devotee while making a circumambulation will first meet these Vaishnavite deites before he enters the main shrine to pay homage to the *Svayambhu lingam.* Among the subsidiary temples standing within the compound of the Lingaraja, there are two to the south of the main shrine of which .one contains the image of the Varaha incarnation of Vishnu and the other, the three images of Ananta, Vasudeva and Ekanamsa. No Sakta influence can be traced in the worship of the Lingaraja, but provision exists for the worship of Parvati enshrined in a beautiful temple with a three-chambered porch, which stands to the north of the main shrine and which was erected in the Ganga period. On the day the Lord Tribhuvanesvara (Lingaraja) returns to the temple after completing the car festival of Asokashtami, a mock quarrel is staged between two parties of priests respectively of Lingaraja and of Parvati, because during the car festival the former takes with him Lakshmi, wife of Vishnu and not Parvati.

The cumulative effects of the influences of the Jagannatha cult on the Lingaraja temple have been that it has lost its distinctive character of a Siva shrine and has adopted the cosmopolitanism of the Jagannatha at Puri. The Sudra priests, known as *Vadus*, who have been

described in the sixty second chapter of the *Ekamra Purana* as the descendants of a Savara mother by a Saiva saint known as Siddha-bhuti, are, like the *Daitapatis* of the Jagannatha temple, still the custodians of the Lingaraja shrine, although the Brahmins have also taken a share in the worship in recent times. Notwithstanding the well-known orthodox dictum that the offerings given to Siva are not to be partaken of by any Hindu, even the cooked rice offered to Lingaraja, is now eaten by all caste Hindus including the Brahmins The custom is certainly analogous to the one prevalent in the Jagannatha temple where, while partaking of the cooked rice offered to the god, no caste distinction is observed.

That these influences of the Jagannatha cult are not of recent origin in the Lingaraja temple, is proved by the *Ekamra Purana* and the allied works. They are unanimous in their assertion that no real distinction exists between the .Saiva and Vaishnava cults and that it is only superficial people who find a distinction in them. Thus says the *Ekamra Purana* :

"There is no distinction between Vishnu and Siva. This is the eternal *Dharmma* and the man who observes this *Dharmma* attains *mukti*."

In another place the same authority seeks to synthesize the four main cults viz. Vaishnavism, Sairism, Saktism and Saurism :

"O Goddess (Parvati), you are Vishnu; and Surya and Achyuta are my emanations. The intelligent people say that there is no distinction between them (i.e. between Vishnu and Surya). So Vishnu and Siva split the one body in two. The god (thus became) Ardhanarisvara and (in him) the female protion is really Janardana. O goddess (Parvati), do not see any distinction, (for) he who is Vishnu, is also Mahesvara. The vicious fool who makes a distinction goes to hell."

Instances can be multiplied from the same work to show that it takes all the main cults to be one and the same cult. It also utters warnings against the followers of Vishnu who want to vilify Saivism. It says :

"In the Kali age those persons, who having been Vaishnavas, become the vilifiers of Siva, will certainly go the hell. There is no doubt about it."

On the ground that the Lingaraja is the combination of Vishnu and Siva, it also justifies the partaking of the offerings made to him.,

"Bhubanesvara is no lingam; (he) is the image of Parama Brahma. (So) the partaking of the offerings made to him leads to the merits that accrue from a great sacrifice."

The *Svarnnadri-mahodaya* in its sixth chapter further explains the reasons why the offerings given to Bhubanesvara are not to be tabooed. It says :

"This *Lingam* is neither god, nor Rudra, nor Madhava. Since half of each exists there, it is Svayambhu. The offerings given to a *lingam* are not to be partaken of, (but) Bhubanesvara is not a *lingam*. So, O son, eat the offerings with the gods and demons."

The same work in the same chapter also asserts that offerings given to Lingaraja are not polluted by touch. In other words, it sanctions that the lower-castes can take the offerings in the company of the higher castes. The sanction still exists and it is now a common custom that the lower-caste people carry even the cooked rice offered to Lingaraja to distant places where it is served to the people of all castes on ceremonial occassions

Culturally the Suryavamsi period merges into the Ganga epoch, but towards the end of this period Vaishnavism became predominant in Orissa on account of the visit of Sri Chaitanya to this county, his long sojourn at Puri and his great influence on Prataparudradeva (A. D. 1497–1540), the last great king of the dynasty. So the ascendancy of the Jagannatha cult popularly affiliated to the Vaishnava cult, was more in evidence at Bhubaneswar. The earlier work, *Ekamra Purana*, while describing in its 18th and 22nd chapters the procedure of visiting the main shrine, enjoins that, a pilgrim after having a dip in the Vindu-sarovara, must first see Ananta-Vasudeva and then go to the shrine of Lingaraja. Though the procedure gave the first precedence to a Vaishnava shrine, nonetheless Ananta-Vasudeva was never conceived as the supreme deity of the place. On the other hand, the work has consistently maintained that at the request of Siva, Vasudeva with his brother Ananta agreed to fix his abode at Ekamra, and to serve as the *Kshetrapala* or the protector of the place. It thus maintains that Bhubaneswar was mainly a Saiva shrine and Vaishnavism was allowed to exist here on equal terms. But this position was soon to change along with the growing popularity of Vaishnavism as a result of Sri Chaitanya's

activities and the patronage of Vaishnavism by Prataparudradeva under the former's spiritual guidance. The *Kapila-samhita* which would have been compiled in or after the reign of Prataparudradeva, propounds just the opposite view of the *Ekamra Purana.* The eleventh chapter of the *Kapila-samhita* gives an account of Siva's coming to Ekamra which, on account of its historical significance, is worth quoting here in its main outline :

In the age of Treta Siva once told Narada that, since Baranasi had become overcrowd, he would not like to stay there any longer and would choose a solitary place for his abode. Narada told him that there was a beautiful place known as Ekamra situated to the north of Nilachala on the sea-coast and Vasudeva with his brother had been living there (at Ekamra). If he wanted to fix his abode there he should first go to Vasudeva, practise penance to propitiate him and obtain his permission to stay there. According to the advice of Narada Siva went to Ekamra and at his first meeting with Vasudeva, fell at his feet and propitiated him with various prayers. Vasudeva at last agreed to assign him a place in Ekamra, but not without a condition. The condition was that he must not try to go back to Baranasi again. Siva agreed to the condition and was therefore given a place in Ekamra.

The inner significance of the story is that Ekamra was originally a Vaishnava shrine and that Saivism was allowed to exist there after a compromise and on certain conditions. This, however, is just contrary to the archaeological evidence that we find with regard to its origin. It is evident that, in the last part of the Suryavamsi period, the cult of Jagannatha, popularly representing Vaishnavism, became the predominant form of religion in Orissa and all other cults were made subservient to it. This Jagannatha cult, as we have already seen, is in reality an amalgam of different cults and religions, and even of the practices and faiths followed by the primitive tribes. There was therefore a grand experiment in the field of religion in this eastern coast of India to reduce heterogeneity to a sort of homogeneity.

The shrine of lord Jagannatha was visited by the great saints like Sankara, Ramananda, Ramanuja, Madhava Tirtha, Narahari Tirtha, Kavira Nanaka and Chaitanya, each of whom contributed to the growth of its catholicity and many of whom left some institutions at Puri which are still named after them. The process of the growth of the Jagannatha cult marked by changes, modifications and innovations, reached its zenith by the end of the Ganga period and after that it

ceased to have any growth whatsoever. Admittance of the Harijans and Adivasis into the Jagannatha temple would have been the logical sequence of its liberality, had the process of its growth been allowed to continue unhindered. Stagnation of this great shrine started from the Suryavamsi period and it was enhanced in the Muslim period when Orissa became a benighted country with but little contribution either to the body politic of India or to the general Indian culture.

The laudable aim of providing a common religious institution to all Hindus, irrespective of their castes and sects, conceived by the Oriyas of the early periods, was scarcely understood or appreciated by their later descendants who set their face against any reform or innovation in the shrine of Jagannatha. Certain ritualistic elements quite foreign to the earlier conception of the Jagannatha cult, were also introduced into the shrine. We have seen that Prataparudradeva made the singing of the *Gitagovinda* in the presence of lord Jagannatha by dancing girls, a compulsory ritualistic performance. In the last phase of the development of the cult, Jagannatha was no doubt conceived to be identical with Srikrishna, but Srikrishna of this conception was a Sahajiya type as depicted in the *Gitagovinda*. Sex never played any part in the cult of Jagannatha in its earlier existence. He was conceived as Yogesvara far above all carnal desires He always appears with his elder brother Balarama and younger sister Subhadra and therefore, nothing of amorous or obscene nature was to be sung or talked of in their presence. While allowing the *Gitagovinda* to be sung by the dancing girls in the presence of lord Jagannatha, the original import of the Jagannatha cult was scarcely understood. Jagannatha was the sole source of inspiration to the earlier Oriyas, but as we have already observed, the Oriyas from the sixteenth century A.D. developed a diversified religious interest and started to be the followers of all sorts of sects and saints. The debasement of the Jagannatha cult and the diversification of the religious interest synchronized the gradual decline of the moral and the military spirits of the Oriyas.

Other Cults

Reference may be made to a few minor cults not included in the above categories of the sects and cults. We have already seen that the terracotta Nagas and the multi-spouted vessels connected with their worship were discovered from the excavations at Dhauli near Bhubaneswara in 1948 and these objects were similar to those recovered from the

excavations at a spot known as Maniar Math in Rajgir near Nalanda in Bihar. The objects discovered from the Dhauli excavations along with some Naga stone images found in Orissa lead us to think that the Naga worship was popular in Orissa, and its origin might go back to the pre-Christian era. Two statues of Nagaraja discovered by the present writer from the suburbs of Bhubaneswar in 1949, and one image of Nagaraja still being worshipped in a shrine at Sundarapada in the neighbourhood of Bhubaneswar, vouchsafe the prevalence of the Naga cult in Orissa. At Ranapur in the Puri district a deity is worshipped under the name of Mainaka which is a corruption of Maninaga. The two Naga images discovered by the present writer are now preserved in the Orissa State Museum. One of them shows the full figure of a Nagaraja standing against the coils of a snake with five hoods serving as a canopy over its head. The image wears a conical cap on the head, unusually big ear ornaments, a broad troque and heavy bracelets and probably had a sword hanging down to the left, of which only the traces remain at present. Of the two hands, the left is hanging down and the right is shown in the *abhaya* form. In their modelling and in the manner of wearing the garments they have great affinities with the Naga images of Patna and Pawaya etc. They are free-standing images meant to be worshipped as the cult deities. It appears that the Naga worship which represents a popular folk cult, asserted itself on the decline of Buddhism and Jainism which flourished respectively under Asoka and Kharavela. There is no evidence to show that Naga worship in Orissa continued to the later periods. In the later periods, the Naga figures were allowed to be carved on the outer walls of the Brahmanical temple. The Nagas thus ceased to be the main deities of worship and occupied a subsidiary position in the temple structures.

The goddess now worshipped as Bhadra Kali in the Bhadra Kali temple near Bhadrak in the Balasore districts, was originally a sylvan deity. The Bhadrak inscription of Gana (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 32 and *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p 169) mentions this deity as Parnnadavadi (Parnnadevati) and gives out that a lady named Ranghali, wife of Sri-Pava, donated to the deity three pieces of garments, one pedestal and two pieces of gold, the gold given being 80 *panas*. The objects were presented to the goddess after a settlement with the Honourable *Mahakulapati* Agisarma (Agnisarman) in the eighth regnal year of *Maharaja* Surasarma. The inscription has been palaeographically assigned to the third century A.D. The Parnnadevati of the

epigraph which thus belong to the pre-Gupta period, was a popular deity and was analogous to *Patarasuni*, *Bhalukuni* and *Khudurikuni* which are still being worshipped all over Orissa.

Another popular deity known as Stambhesvari has found mention in the Bhanja copper plate grants of the Khinjali *mandala* and some Bhanja rulers have been represented in them to have received boons from her (*Stambhesvari-vara-labdha*). Recently a copper plate grant, consisting of three plates and belonging to the seventh regnal year of the last Somavamsi king Karnnadeva, has been discovered and edited by the present writer. The donor Ranaka Jayarnnama (va), a feudatory of Karnnadeva, has been prepresented in it as having received boons from the Stambhesvari who evidently existed as a deity in medieval Orissa. There is a shrine at Sonepur in the Bolangir district, which is known as the Stambhesvari temple. The Stambhesvari worship is still in prevalence in Orissa. The deity originally represented a wooden pillar. The present writer has witnessed the establishment of Stambhesvari in the neighbouring villages of his residence at Khiching in Mayurbhanj. The wooden pillar representing the deity and worshipped by villagers as the *gramadevati* is renewed in every ten years and the ceremony of the renewal is known as *Dasandhi*. Animals like goats and pigs are sacrificed on the occasion. Stambhesvari was, therefore, a pillar and like other rural deities mentioned above, was very ancient and it is not unlikely that it originated from the faiths and practices of the primitive tribes of Orissa. Originally Stambhevari was made of wood but later it was carved in stone in some cases. We have seen that the earliest object of worship in the shrine now occupied by the Jagannatha temple at Puri, was an altar which was in all likelihood a wooden one. In the Jagannatha shrine the making of images out of wood has continued to be a practice from the hoary antiquity. Stambhesvari also continues to be carved in wood in the rural areas of Orissa from the time immemorial.

Brahmanical Hinduism

Brahmanical Hinduism embraced in its hold all the sects and cults discussed above. Buddhism which from the start wanted to grow up as a separate religion, ultimately became merged into Brahmanical Hinduism. We have seen that the early Bhauma rulers, while professing to be the Buddhists, helped the re-establishment of the caste system which is an essential feature of Brahmanical Hinduism. The Jainism always made a

compromise with Hinduism and retained the essential features of Hinduism such as the caste system and the employment of the Brahmins on ceremonial occasions. There are evidences to show that Jainism prevailed in all parts of Orissa, but it co-existed with Brahmanical Hinduism without coming into conflict with it. Buddhism too generally maintained a peaceful co-exisence with Brahmanical Hinduism, though, as we have shown earlier, there were sometimes conflicts between Buddhism, Saivism and Vaishnavism. The main bulk of the people of Orissa were always Brahmanical Hindus, though there are evidences to show that Buddhism and Jainism had their periods of ascendancy in Orissa respectively under Asoka and Kharavela. There is little evidence to show that the number of the Buddhists in Orissa was ever greater than that of the Brahmanical Hindus.

It is difficult to determine the exact date of the period when Vedic Culture made its first appearance in Orissa, but it seems that it spread to Orissa from the neighbouring territories now known as Bengal and Bihar. The late Vedic Literature condemns Kalinga as an impure country and classes it with Anga, Vanga and Suhma. The Vedic Culture seems to have entered into Orissa long before Asoka's invasion in 261 B. C. Both Asoka and Kharavela state in their inscriptions that they extended toleration to the heads of all sects including the Brahmins. There is little evidence to show that during the supremacy of these rulers in Orissa the Brahmins were persecuted or Brahmanism was supressed. There is however no record to show that till the Gupta period the Brahmins were given land grants and settled in the villages known as *Sasanas*. Starting from the days of the Matharas in the fifth century A.D. to the end of the Hindu rule in Orissa in A.D. 1568 and even later, innumerable rent-free land grants were made by the Orissan rulers to the Brahmins, which made them a privileged class in the society. We have observed earlier that in the hilly regions of Orissa the rulers established the Brahmin *Sasanas* with a view to attract other castes of the Aryan origin to their principalities which were predominantly tribal areas. The people of the Aryan origin and culture were better cultivators than the primitive peoples. The Brahmin settlements in the tribal areas thus led to the cultivation of more lands in the tribal areas in better ways.

Brahmanical Hinduism thus penetrated into the hilly parts of Orissa. In the coastal areas there were also strong sections of primitive tribes who too were ultimately driven out to the hilly regions by the

people of the Aryan origin and culture, headed by the Brahmins. Brahmanical Hinduism ultimately triumphed and entered into all parts of Orissa, even though strong pockets of the people of the non-Aryan origin continued to exist in the hilly and inaccessible tracts.

Most of the Brahmins claim in the copper plate records to have migrated to Orissa from the other regions of India. The claim in some cases may be fictitious, but the fact that most of them came from outside cannot be denied. We have evidences to show that the Brahmins, who received rent-free lands from the rulers of Orissa, were originally the inhabitants of such well-known places as Kolancha (Kanyakubja), Sravasti, Madhyadesa, Varendra, Pompasara, Radha, Vanga, etc. Several other places from which the Brahmins claim to have migrated to Orissa have not been identified. The names of some of such places as they appear in the copper plate grants, are Apilombri, Atidha, Alopa, Bhatta Paroli, Nirola, Palasa in Tirabhukti etc. (B. Misra, *Dynasties of Mediaeval Orissa*, p. 112). A few of the donees have not however failed to mention that they were the original inhabitants of Orissa.

The epigraphical evidences are supported by a persistent tradition that the Brahmins well-versed in the Vedic literature, came to Orissa from outside. It is stated that Yayati Kesari invited ten thousand Brahmins from Kanyakubja to perform sacrifices at Jajpur. A share of the *pindas* given to the ancestors at Nabhigaya in Jajpur is still set apart by the pilgrims for the Brahmins who came from Kanyakubja to this place for the performance of sacrifices including *Asvamedha*. The tradition cannot be brushed aside. It is similar to the tradition of Bengal that Adisura invited the Brahmins from Kanyakubja for performing sacrifices. Both the traditions are based on some historical truth. Yayati of the tradition, as we have already observed, was the Somavamsi king Yayati I, who is credited in all traditions to have revived Brahmanical shrines and Brahmanical customs after the unorthodox rule of the Bhauma-Karas. The Gangas and the Suryavamsis were also the strong supporters of Brahmanical Hinduism and the Brahmins occupying the religious shrines and enjoying rent-free lands had a very strong influence on them The ceremony of *Tulapurusha* (weighing the body of the king against gold) performed by some Ganga rulers, was meant to appease the Brahmins. By occupying a predominant position in the shrine of Jagannatha the Brahmins also exercised a great influence on the Orissan rulers. It is at their instance that from the time of Anangabhimadeva III the Orissan rulers considered themselves the deputies of lord Jagannatha.

In the tribal areas of Orissa Brahmanical Hinduism influenced some tribes so much so that they were drawn to the Hindu fold, shed their tribal complexes, and like other Hindus adopted the caste-system and employed the Brahmins on the ceremonial occasions. The Sauntis, the Bathudis, the Gandas, the Bhuyan, etc., who were originally the tribal peoples, ultimately adopted the casts systeme. The silent process of proselytization has, however, received a strong set-back recently after the independence of India because of the fact that their separate entities and the privileges have now been preserved in the Indian Constitution.

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18. Art and Architecture

In Orissa as elsewhere in India, art and architecture have been connected with each other in such a manner that it is difficult to separate the one from the other. This has provided a justification to deal with them together here. The history of Orissan art and architecture is coeval with her dated history, which, as we have seen, starts from 261 B.C., when Asoka conquered this country, then known as Kalinga. The Kalinga war of 261 B.C. formed a turning point and it is difficult to determine as to how much of Orissa's culture, if she had any at that period, survived after this great cataclysm, but it is definite that Asoka's occupation of Orissa gave a start to Orissan art and architecture.

No specimen of Orissan monuments has yet been discovered, which can be assigned to the pre-Asokan period, but from the time of Asoka to the end of the Hindu supremacy in Orissa in the sixteenth century A.D., their continuous history and existence can be traced. The existing ancient monuments of Orissa thus cover a period of about two thousand years and present a varied and interesting study. They have survived through the vicissitudes of the time due to certain historical reasons. The Muslim rule in India started from the last part of the twelfth century A.D., but Orissa continued to be a Hindu kingdom up to A.D. 1568 when it was conquered by the Muslims. The Hindu state of Orissa thus gained a period of about 375 years to continue her building activities unhindered on Hindu traditions. The Muslim rule in Orissa was short, covering the period from A.D. 1568 to A.D. 1751 and except for a brief period of Aurangzeb's reign, no large-scale destruction of Hindu monuments in Orissa is on record. Besides, the different ruling dynasties of this long period of Hindu supremacy vied with each other in adding to the number of temples in the religious centres of their kingdom. All these reasons explain an enormous survival of ancient monuments in this eastern part of India. The existing ancient temples of Orissa form the highest number in India and in the *Struuggle For Empire*, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan (p. 535), the following observation has been made about them :

"From the seventh to the thirteenth century A.D. innumerable temples were erected in Orissa and it has been truely observed that there are perhaps more temples now in Orissa than in all the rest of Hindusthan put together."

Monuments of Asokan Age

The earliest specimen of sculptural art in Kalinga is the colossal figure of the forepart of an elephant carved at the top of the boulder containing Asoka's rock edicts at Dhauli. This elephant figure is certainly contemporary to the inscription and reference may be made to an incised figure of an elephant with a label in Asokan Brahmi which appears along with the Asokan edicts at Kalsi (Dehra Dun). Hence it was not unusual at that time to represent an elephant, the sacred symbol of the Buddhists, along with the edicts of Asoka. The elephant figure of Dhauli lacks, however, the characteristics usually found in the Asokan sculptures. The lustruous polish, characterstically described as Mauryan, is completely absent. The absence of this lustruous polish, may with reason, be attributed to the inferior type of sandstone utilized for its carving. It is significant to note that the surface of the rock bearing the edicts, also does not show this polish. Moreover, naturalism as evidenced in the anatomical treatment of the figure corresponds to that noticed in other animal capitals of Asoka's pillars. A significant parallel may be recognized in the Bull Capital of the Rampurwa pillar. In modelling and anatomical treatment, these two figures, one at Rampurwa and the other at Dhauli, are nearer to the indigenous ideal of subdued naturalism, in contrast to the realistic treatment of the Lion Capital at Sarnath. The latter appears to have been the production of an artist reared in the tradition of the court. The Rampurwa or the Dhauli figure, however, appears to be the work of the local artists who were upholders of the indigenous tradition.

There is also another animal figure which may be assigned to the reign of Asoka. It is the upper part of a lion capital recently discovered at Bhubaneswar In order to show that it belonged to the reign of Asoka, it is necessary here to relate briefly the circumstances that led to its discovery.

Although Asoka's rock edicts have been found at Dhauli near Bhubaneswar and at Jaugada in the Ganjam district, the existence of an Asokan pillar within the limits of ancient Kalinga had not yet been traced. Dr. Rajendralal Mitra had suggested in 1880 that the colossal

lingam, now enshrined in the temple of Bhaskaresvara at Bhubaneswar, was the remnant of an Asokan pillar. Dr. B. M. Barua in his *Asoka and His Inscriptions*, Part II, p. 3, also made a similar suggestion. But since their suggestion was a categorical one and based on no tangible evidence, most of the later scholars writing upon the monuments of Bhubaneswar took no notice of it and some scholars like Messars M.M. Ganguly, N.K. Bose and K.N. Mohapatra who discussed the suggestion, distinctly refuted it.

Notwithstanding the adverse views of these scholars, the present writer subjected the colossal *lingam* of the Bhaskaresvara temple to close examination, and most of its characteristics appeared to him as unusual for a *lingam*, and some inexplicable. Its dimensions, which are nine feet in height, twelve feet and five inches in circumference at its base, are unusual for an ordinary *lingam* and it has a *yoni-pith* with an outer circumference of about twenty feet. Like other *lingams* it is not smooth on the surface; on the contrary the original smoothness has been destroyed by deliberate chiselling. It is not rounded at the top, but has a tapering projection suggesting the broken remnant of a monolithic pillar. Its *yoni-pitha*, instead of being made of a single block of stone as is the case with all others, is made up of four pieces joined together. This device indicates that the *lingam* was in situ and the *yoni-pitha* had been fitted to it later on. These peculiarities of unusual character led to further scrutiny which revealed traces of some Asokan Brahmi letters on a vertical protion of the *lingam* where chiselling seems to have been less heavy. It is true that the traces giving the complete forms of Brahmi letters are only a few, but their paucity is explicable, as after chiselling, only abnormally deep-cut letters were likely to leave cognizable traces. That these were not chisel marks appears definite, as it cannot be held that chiselling at random can ever produce letter forms of Asokan Brahmi of such usual dimensions. The attention of the archaeologists then working in the Sisupalagarh excavation, was therefore drawn to these traces, and they agreed with me that the *lingam* was of unusual character and that the deliberate chisellings all over its body were inexplicable.

Searches for further evidences were therefore conducted in the close vicinity of the temple which resulted in the discovery of a railing pillar half-buried in earth about three hundred and seventy five feet to the north of the northern door of the temple. This pillar has four sides of which the broader two have lenticular sockets that evidently received

the cross-bars (*suchis*) from both sides and the narrower two have each a decorative female figure. At the top there is a small projection which was fitted into the socket of the coping stone (*usnisa*). This discovery marked a step forward, because a railing fence, of which the pillar was undoubtedly a part, is usually associated with a *stupa* generally found by the side of an Asokan pillar. It therefore, gave an incentive for a further search to complete and correlate the series of evidences so far achieved.

Fortunately, only about forty feet from the northern door the top portion of a figure, very much weather-beaten, but sharply distinguished in colour and fabric from the stones used in the temple, was found buried and this, when dug out, proved to be the upper portion of a colossal lion. The manes of the left side of this lion figure has been partially chiselled smooth for two lines of inscription in characters of the fifth century A.D. One line is perfectly preserved and reads as *Sri Simha-bandha*. The fragmentary figure measures three feet seven inches in height and eight feet seven inches in circumference in its broadest part. It is now in the Orissa State Museum and has been examined by a number of eminent archaeologists who have no doubt about its belonging to a much earlier period than the date of the earliest temple extant at Bhubaneswar. The colossal *lingam* in the Bhaskaresvara temple and this fragmentary lion figure discovered within the close precincts of the temple are both found to have been made in the same kind of sandstone. The identity of stone fabrics of these objects and the difference from the stone used in the temple itself, connects the two and suggests the possibility of their belonging to one and the same monument A lion figure usually serves as a capital of an Asokan paillar, as we see in a number of instances. The *lingam* within the temple was in all probability, one such pillar, as already observed, and the suggestion is legitimate that this fragmentary lion figure represents the remains of the capital of the Asokan pillar, the remnant of which is now found converted into the colossal *lingam* of the Bhaskaresvara. The lion figure is now much weather-beaten but the pose as indicated by the remaining front portion, is suggestive of an Asokan lion capital. The difference in the treatment of the manes, noticed in this particular figure might have been due to local convention.

A suggestion might be made that the lion figure might have formed part of an early Brahmanical temple that existed on this site. As

a type this figure stands by itself and is clearly distinguished from the numerous stone figures of lions forming parts of temples. The inscription that it now bears clearly proves that it was certainly carved before the fifth century A.D. No temple of this period is extant now at Bhubaneswar. Even if there had been any of this early period, it must have been like all early temples, a small and an unpretentious one and hence incapable of accommodating a figure of such huge dimensions in any of its parts. Moreover, it should be emphasized that such lion figures are conspicuous by their absence in any of the early temples, now extant, and such a feature in a still earlier temple may be regarded as an impossibility.

The cumulative evidence of the above discussion points to the colossal *lingam* of the Bhaskaresvara as having originally been an Asokan pillar and the lion figure discovered in a close vicinity as the remnant of its capital. In course of digging, the lion figure was found to have been laid in a pit with four stone slabs on the four sides to keep it in position. This fact indicates that its burial was deliberate and not accidental. The date of the inscription on the manes indicates the period when the lion might have been buried in this way. Apart from this deliberate burial, signs of distinct vandalism are clear on the figure itself. There are chisel holes on the left side, which indicate that there was a deliberate attempt to break it into pieces. The indigenous process of breaking a stone into pieces is to bore holes in a line and then to hammer on the tops of the chisel fitted into these holes. The lower portion was apparently destroyed thereby and the chisel holes, still existing in the upper portion, indicate that there was a further attempt to break this portion also. The destruction of the inscription on the pillar, its conversion into a Siva *lingam* and the attempt to destroy the lion capital totally, supply clear proofs of vandalism wrought on a Buddhist monument by the Saivas.

There is yet another piece of sculpture at Bhubaneswar which can be connected with an Asokan pillar. It is a portion of the capital consisting of the abacus, the torus and the so-called bell. The height of the fragment is 32 inches and its circumference near the upper bulge is about nineteen feet five inches. It was lying in a tank known as Asoka Jhara just behind the Ramesvara temple, situated half-way between the Railway station and the Lingaraja temple, and has recently been brought to the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar. It has already come to the notice of several scholars. But many of them have concluded that it is in

no way connected with the Siva *lingam* of the Bhaskaresvara temple. Mr. N. K Bose thinks that the stones of the *lingam* and the bell capital respectively are of different type and as such, they can have no connection with each other. The present writer was at first inclined to accept his view, but after repeated examinations of the *lingam*, the fragmentary bell capital and the lion figure, he has now come to the conclusion that all of them are of the same type of stone The bell capital having been exposed to the actions of weather for centuries, has become blackish with more prominent grit on its surface. The same colour and the same grit are also to be found on the top portion of the lion which was likewise exposed to the actions of the element. The present writer has now no doubt that even a chemical examination will prove that all these three objects are of the same type of stone. It is to be noted here that, although the edges of abacus of the capital have partly broken off, its upper circular portion shows no sign of breakage, which indicates that the animal sculpture surmounting it, was made of a separate block of stone. Only the two sides of the circular portion are raised up as rims to keep the animal sculpture in position.

The bell capital, although a close parallel of other Asokan bell capitals, presents certain divergences with the other specimens. This led Dr. A. K. Mitra to conclude that it was not an Asokan capital. Its difference from other Mauryan capitals as noticed by him, may be summarized as follows :

It does not bear the slightest trace of Mauryan polish. The animal sculpture and the bell capital were not carved out of a single block of stone. Below the so-called bell there is a frieze of sculptures, which no other Asokan capital possesses in the same position. The arrises resembling the pointed ends of leaves occur in between the petals of the so-called bell which is in reality a full-blown inverted lotus. The torus moulding between the so-called bell and the abacus varies in decoration from the rope pattern appearing in the same place in other Asokan capitals.

To these points of difference noticed by Dr. Mitra, we may add another. The decorative figures of the frieze of this capital not only occupy a different position, but also differ from those to be found in other Asokan capitals. A greater part of the frieze has broken off, but nevertheless, what remains shows from left to right (a) a goose, (b) a full-blown lotus, (c) a goose (d) a full-blown lotus, (e) a winged elephant, (f) a full-blown lotus with a bud, (g) a winged tiger, (h) a

lotus bud with a stem and (i) a galloping winged horse. The figures are still distinct and they do not present any difficulty in identification. But it is to be noted that except the lotuses and the geese, which are common Asokan motifs, other figures are entirely novel. The honeysuckle and the palmette which are taken to be foreign motifs, imported during the reign of Asoka, are conspicuous by their absence.

The above differences are significant no doubt. But the shape and form of the capital and their close similarity with the bell capital of an Asokan pillar are also striking and cannot be overlooked because of the differences in certain details in certails decorative features. The arrises in this particular capital, which Dr. Mitra takes to be unique in appearance, may also be found in the capital of fhe Basarh Bhakira pillar, which some scholars think, might even be pre-Asokan in date (*Ray, Maurya and Sunga Art*, p. 26). The decoration on the torus, which consists of a twisted rope pattern intervening with a twisted bead string, is nothing but a combination of the well-known patterns that appear seperately on the Asokan capitals. In spite of the close similarity in shape and form, the Asokan capitals may be found to exhibit well-marked divergences in details, and the appearance of the frieze of sculptures at the base of the bell, instead of at the top, might be regarded as another divergence in the long series of Asokan capitals.

At Bhubaneswar, therefore, we find three remnants of art that may presumably go back to the period of Asoka, *viz*. the circular shaft now converted into the *lingam* of the Bhaskaresvara, the upper portion the lion discovered in its close vicinity and the fragmentary bell capital in the Asoka Jhara tank. Tne first two appear to be remnants of the same monuments as we have already shown. The monument was presumably a pillar set up by Asoka in his newly conquered province. The bell capital in the Asoka Jhara tank might have represented the remnant of another such pillar or was a part of the same pillar of which the *lingam* and the lion capital were the remnants. None of the remnants, however, bear the usual characteristics of Asokan sculptures like the brilliant polish or the strong realism in the anatomical treatment. Nevertheless, as in the case of the Dhauli elephant, a subdued naturalism is evident in the lion figure and the manes in their spiral curls are more natural than the stylised treatment of the manes in other Asokan lion figures. The pose and the treatment of the mouth of the lion figure also resemble those of the Asokan lion discovered elsewhere. These fragments are all executed in local stone

and possibly offered little scope for polish which characterized the other Asokan sculptures, all in Chunar sandstone of a fine-grained texture.

The natural inference, therefore, is that the monuments of which these remnants once formed parts, were the works of local artists under the direction of imperial officers or artists. It has been generally held that Perso-Hellenic influence was responsible for a vigorous revival of art and architecture in stone during the reign of Asoka. It will be too much to imagine, however, that no form of stone carving existed in any part of India prior to his reign. We are inclined to think that in ancient Kalinga the local artists, even before pre-Mauryan days, had experience in handling stone which has always been an easily available and workable material at Bhubaneswar. Or else it will be difficult to think that they would have ever been in a position to execute them under the imperial direction. The reference in the Hatigumpha Inscription of Kharavela to a seat of Jina, which had baen carried away to Magadha by Nanda king, and which was brought back to Kalinga by Kharavela, also strengthens our conclusion, becauss it seems most likely that the seat was of stone, or it could not have been preserved for centuries till Kharavela recovered it from Magadha. Conscious of its own strength and cultare, Kulinga presented a great challenge to the growing imperialism of Magadha in the time of Asoka, and in the reign of Kharavela, this challenge took the shape of aggression. During the reign of Asoka it must have been at the height of its power, or else it could not have resisted with such vehemence the aggression of the Magadhan empire, which practically included the whole of India and the territories now known as Afghanistan and Beluchistan. Therefore, it will not be unreasonable to infer that the people of ancient Kalinga already had a flourshing culture and were famililar with the art of stone carving.

Our above view about the existence of an Asokan pillar at Bhubaneswar has not been accepted by the scholars like Mr. N. K. Bose and Dr. N. K. Sahu. The main ground of their objection is that the fragments of the pillar which we have taken to be Asokan, do not conform to the characteristics usually seen in the Asokan monuments discovered in North India. We have already explained the reasans of their nonconformity. The Asokan monuments discovered in North India were the work of court-artists, whereas those found in Orissa were created by local artists An absolute conformity in respect of the Asokan art as defined by modern scholars, cannot be conceived to have been in vogue throughout a vast empire as that of Asoka. In his inscrip-

tions Asoka has expressed his solicitude for Kalinga and, therefore, it is reasonable to expect that he set up a pillar in this country. After Asoka no rulling dynasties or private persons of Orissa are known to have set up great monolithic pillars like those of Asoka. Mrs. D. Mitra's excavation at the base of the Bhaskaresvara *lingam* has only proved that the stump of the pillar, later convertad into the Siva *lingam*, was brought from some other place, but the excavation has not revealed any evidence to show that it was not the part of an Asokan pillar. It may be that the Bhaskaresvara *lingam* and the bell capital originally lying at Asoka Jhara, belong to one and the same monolithic pillar. The stump of the pillar and the fragmentary lion capital were taken to the present Bhaskaresvara site and the 'bell capital' was allowed to lie at Asoka Jhara.

It seems that the site of Asoka Jhara preserves the name of the emperor Asoka who set up a pillar there. Once in a year on the day of Asokastami in the month of *Chaitra* (March-April) the movable images of lord Tribhuvanesvara (Lingaraja) and his family members are driven to Asoka Jhara in a chariot with the usual pomp and show. Once in a year again, on the day of *sukla saptami* in *Magha* (January-Februry) the same movable images are taken to the temple of Bhaskaresvara. That these festivals are not of recent origin is proved by the fact that they find mention in such Sanskrit texts, as the *Ekamra Purana* and *Svarnnadri Mahodaya* which profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from orthodox stand point. From the early medieval period Tribhuvanesvara (also known as Krittivasa and Lingaraja) came to be the presiding deity of the place. These festive visits of the presiding deity of the place of Asoka Jhara (Ramesvara) and Bhaskaresvara are significant. Both these temples cannot be dated earlier than the twelfth century A. D. and both of them occupied the sites of previous older shrines. In the former the name of the tank and the bell capital originally lying there are reminiscent of Asoka and in the latter, the *lingam* which was once a part of the Asokan pillar, is also reminiscent of the emperor. The shrines that might hava existed at these places in the time of Asoka were apparently Buddhist, but they were later converted to Brahmanical ones. These festive visits of Tribhuvanesvara to these places on special auspicious days might be in the nature of the deity of a later shrine paying homage to the earliest ones. In India, it should be remembered, the earliest places of worship, whatever their character, are held in great veneration and people, irrespective of faiths, visit them. The festival of *Asokastami* is peculiar only to Bhubaneswar and it is not

observed in any part of Orissa or India. In the Sanskrit works mentioned above, it is explained that on the day of Asokastami the flowers of the *Asoka* tree should be eaten by the people to be free from miseries (*soka*), but this seems to be a later explanation of the name of the festival when all reminiscences and traditions connecting the place with the emperor Asoka had been lost. It may be noted that these Sanskrit works were composed not earlier than the fourteenth century A. D. as the internal evidences in them clearly show. The earlier tradition correctly preserved the name of Asoka who set up a pillar at this site, but the later tradition connected it with the *Asoka* tree.

We have pointed out above that the fort of Sisupalagarh existed at the time of Asoka as the results of the excavations carried on here in 1947-48 indicate. We have spoken of the main features of this ancient fort which appears to be the only survival of the secular architecture of the Asokan Age in Orissa.

Monuments of Kharavela's Age

The next stage of the development of Orissan art and architecture is marked by the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, which stand side by side about five miles to the west of Bhubaneswar and which have respectively been mentioned in the epigraphic records as Kumari Parvata and Kumara Parvata. These hillocks have been honey-combed with rock-cut caves meant for Jaina ascetics, which now bear various names such as Jaya-Vijaya gumpha, Svarga-puri gumpha, Mancha-puri gumpha, Rani gumpha, Hati gumpha etc. These rock-cut caves represent the earliest devotional architecture of Orissa. The earliest groups of the cave abodes belong to the age of Kharavela. There is nothing grand or excellent about the architecture of these caves. They are small, simple and utilitarian in character, meant to provide limited living accommodations in the rainy season to the wandering ascetics. These simple abodes were particularly ment for Jaina monks and were therefore necessarily inspired by Jaina idealism and traditions. Most of them bear bas-relifes which depict the Jaina objects of devotion, panoramic views of the worship of the sacred trees or sacred symbols and the stories of the by-gone days of which some still remain unidentified. Though most of the sculptures are common place, there are in them some specimens of real artistic excellence marked by vigour and simplicity befitting the age of their creation. They rank in point of anquity with the sculptures of Bahrut, Sanchi, Bodh Gaya, Pithalkora etc. and also share their characteristics.

We have already given in Chapter XVII under Section Jainism a brief account of the cave temples of Udayagiri and Khandagiri along with the different groups to which they belong and the chronological positions which they occupy in the evolution of the cave architecture there. Therefore, they need not be repeated here. We have also quoted the view of Mr. T. N. Ramachandran obout the identification of an important scene in the Mancha-Puri cave of the Udayagiri. The identification comes within the range of possibility because of the evidence furnished by the Hatigumpha Inscription that Kharavela brought back the Kalinga Jina from Magadha. There are several other scenes depicted in the sculptures of the caves of Udayagiri; particularly of the Ranigumpha, which present panoromic views that might have represented the incidents of Kharavela's life. Such incidents are not however known to us from the Hatigumpha Inscription which forms the sole source of our information about him. Historical inferences always involve a process from the known to the unknown. The incidents or stories depicted in the Ranigumpha cannot be connected with the life of Kharavela on account of the fact that we find nothing about such incidents or stories from the Hatigumpha Inscription or from any other source, Dr. N. K. Sahu without considering this main point has conncted several scenes appearing in the Ranigumpha with the life of Kharavela (*History of Orissa*. Vol. I. p. 360). Kharavela being a devout follower of Jainism might not have indulged in the pastime of hunting, but Dr. Sahu identifies one hunting scene with that of Kharavela. It may be that the scenes described by Dr. Sahu really represent some incidents or stories, but we know nothing of them from any source. Therefore, Dr. Sahu's identifications are hardly acceptable to scholars. Recently Dr. Ramesh Prasada Mahapatra has published an excellent book entitled *Udayagini and Khandagiri* caves. The book, provies the scholars an opportunity to know the details of art and architecture of the caves of both the hills along with their illustrations and measurements.

Monuments of the Dark Period

We have already seen that from the end of the Chedi dynasty to the rise of the Sailodbhavas in the seventh century A. D. there is an immense intervening period of which no connected political history is available. Prof. R. D. Banerjee has, therefore, called it the 'Dark Period'. The recent discoveries have however made it possible to throw some spotlights here and there on this dark period mainly with the help of art and architecture.

Reference has been made to three railing pillars discovered from the neighbourhood of the Bhaskaresvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The human figures to be found in them indicate the characteristics of the Sunga art. They certailny belonged to a railing fence of a *stupa* of which all traces have been obliterated.

The four Yaksas images recently discovered by the present writer at Bhubaneswar appear to form the next link in the chain of Orissan art and architecture. Of the four images, three were found in a field in the village Dumduma near Jagmara not far from Khandagiri and one from a site near the Brahmesvara temple. Two of the Dumduma statues are in complete form, each measuring five feet seven inches in height and each having a socket on the head, which was evidently intended for the insertion of some other structural part. Like the conventional dwarfs of the later temples, they have also been shown as bent under the weight of a structure which they raise with uplifted hands. There can be no doubt that they were utilized in some structure. Their frontal pose, the bulged-out bellies, bent knees, broad torques, heavy ear-ornaments, bracelets numbering more than one in each hand, and the folds of their *dhotis* hanging down between their legs, are strikingly similar to those of the Yaksas forming the capitals of the pillars that support the architraves in the west gateway of the Sanchi Stupa. The third specimen discovered from Dumduma is a torso which has been split in the middle, dividing it into two halves, front and back portions. It was also a Yaksa image. Its back portion shows elaborate knots of a *dhoti* as the back portions of the other two do, but in addition it also shows a scarf with borders of beads, worn in the form of a cross with a rosette at the point of intersection. This type of scarf is also to be found in the Yaksa image of Sanchi. The fourth specimen discovered from the Brahmesvara area, though a Yaksa of the same type, is entirely different from the other three in dimensions. It measures four feet by five feet and has holes below the arms which no other specimen has. Another Yaksa of the Dumduma type is being worshipped as a village deity in a small shrine situated near a tank in the village Badgad, about two miles to the north-east of Bhubaneswar and a sixth specimen is reported to be in the village Panchgan about five miles to the west of the temple town.

The sockets on the heads of the above show that they were architectural parts and were most probably utilized in the *stupa* structures as capitals of pillars. The Yaksas of Sanchi, standing back to back

and numbering four in each capital, have been carved in relief, but the specimens found here are free-standing statues carved, like all other early images, on both sides. The pillars of the gateways of the *stupas* to which they originally belonged, therefore, had capitals different from those at Sanchi. These capitals seem to have been formed of a single Yaksa, but not of four as in Sanchi. As we have already said, these Yaksa images and their miniature prototypes in the Khandagiri and Udayagiri caves indicate close cultural contracts between Bhubanewar and Sanchi which was probably in the occupation of the Andhra-Satavahanas during the reign of Satakarni II.

Two statues of Nagaraja recently discovered by the present writer from the suburbs of Bhubaneswar, possibly belong to a period when the style and tradition of the north again make themselves felt in Orissa. One of them was found from a spot near the Brahmesvara temple, about a mile to the east of Bhubaneswar and the other from the village Sundarpada situated about a mile and a half to the west of the Lingaraja temple. Of the Sundarapada statue, a part of the torso and the head are missing. The front parts of its feet which whre carved out of another piece of stone are also missing. It stands aginst the coils of a snake, the tail of which is found going underneath its leg. The image wears a *dhoti*, the lower end and folds of which hang down between the legs and the left side. From the girdle or waistband, which it wears, a long sword with a sheath also hangs down. Carved out of a poor type of sand-stone, it has suffered from much wear and tear. A close parallel of the above, the Brahmesvera` specimen has also suffered much from wear and tear and has, in addition, a thin coat of lichen and verdigris covered all over the body.But it shows the full figure of a Nagaraja standing against the coils of a snake with five hoods serving as a canopy over its head. The hoods have broken off, but the lines demarcating them show that they were five in number. The image wears a conical cap over the head, unsually big ear ornaments, a broad torque and heavy bracelets and had probably a sword hanging down to the left, of which only the traces remain at present. Of the two hands, the left is hanging down and the right is shown in the *abhaya* form.

A careful comparison of the ornaments, garments and swords worn by these Nagarajas with those of the sculptures in the Udayagiri cave temples, particularly the large-sized *dvarapalas* there, shows that they belong to a conception entirely dissimilar and different. These statues must have therefore preceded or suceeded Kharavela's time.

Probably they succeeded the age of this monarch, because in their modelling and in the manner of wearing garments, they have greater affinities with the series of colossal *Yaksa* and *Naga* images such as those of Parkham, Patna, Pawaya etc. A comparison of these two figures with the statue of Manibhadra Yaksa from Pawaya, clearly reveals a close affinity and it is not impossible that the three belong to the same period, i.e., first century B.C. Like the Pawaya one, the two Bhubaneswar figures reveal themselves as free-standing images carved on both sides, which in all probability were worshipped as cult deities. Naga worship seems to have been widely spread in India, and one of the most flourishing centres of this worship in the north-east was Rajgir where an image of Naga of about the first century B.C. has been discovered. It appears that the Naga worship, which represents a popular folk cult, asserted itself on the decline of Buddhism and Jainism which flourished respectively and Asoka and Kharavela.

Reference has already been made to Parnnudevati of the Bhadrak Inscription of Gana (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXXV, p. 327) who was no doubt the presiding deity of the shrine. As the deity is always covered with a piece of cloth the present writer got no opportunity to see the image when he visited the shrine, but now he learns from a friend that it is an image of Mahisa-marddini. Viraja of Jaipur and Parnnadevati of the Bhadrakali temple near Bhadrak were all very ancient deities and as we have seen earlier, tve former has found mention in the *Mahabharata* and the later belongs to at least the third century A. D. as is evidenced by the aforesaid inscription. It seems that the original images of both the shrines were replaced by the images of Mahisa-marddini in the Early Gupta Age when a Brahmanical revival took place in Orissa as in other parts of North India. We have already observed that the present image of Viraja is Mahisamarddini bearing the characteristics of the Early Gupta Age.

Another image which belongs to the fourth-fifth century A. D. is a Mukhalingam which is still lying at Sitabhinji the Keonjhar district. Mr. T. N. Ramachandran made a special study of the antiquities of the Sitabhinji and published them in *Artibus Asiae*, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, Vol. XIV, 1-2, pp. 5-25. According to him the fresco painting, the inscriptions, the Mukhalingam mentioned above, the so called Puri Kusana coins, metallic objects and one soap-stone figurine found there reveal a civilization that flourished in the period between the fourth and sixth century A. D. He also

concludes that site where in inscriptions are found, was a Siva shrine. In the *Mukha-lingam* which he assigns to the Gupta period, he has noticed the flap or the foreskin of the *phallus*, that can be seen below the heads of Siva. In the Bhaskaresvara *lingam* which, as we have shown, is a remnant of an Asokan pillar converted into a *lingam* about this period, there is a deeply incised small dent on the top centre, just resembling the central orifice on the inside nut of a male organ. The representation of these details indicates how the Saivas of this period made Siva *lingams* closely resemble the *membrum virile*.

A few detached sculptures of an earlier date found at Bhubaneswer evidently formed parts of earlier structures, the shape and form of which will, however, remain unknown. The two-armed Kartikeya image to be now found in the Lingaraja compound with the peacock as the mount, *sakti* and *vijapuraka* as characteristic attributes and distinguished by the absence of the cock, is related to similar other figures from various parts of India, which, on good grounds, may be placed to an age in the fifth or sixth century A. D. Reference may also be made to three more detached images, now in the Bharati Matha at Bhubaneswar. One of them is a mûtilated image of Hara-Parvati which, to judge from its stylistic peculiarities such as the fine modelling of the torso, naturalism and perfect equipoise combined with a high standard of idealistic execution, may be placed in the fifth or sixth century A.D. The other two are Lakulisa images which are distinguished from the numerous images of the same deity at Bhubaneswar by a high degree of spiritual expression imparted to them. The Lakulisa images again carry with them some Buddhistic reminiscences. Stripped of their *lakutas* (clubs) these images with half-closed eyes, the *dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudras* and the haloes round their heads, would appear to be the good specimens of the Buddha images. The coils of lotus shoots to be found on their pedestals, have a great resemblance in shape to the wheels that appear on the pedestals of the Buddha images in *dharmma-chakra-pravarttana-mudra*. It is not unlikely that these early specimens of Brahmanical art at Bhubaneswar were in some way connected with the school of Buddhist art that flourished at the Ratnagiri Vihara in the Cutteck District. The existence of the Ratnagiri Vihara in the fifth or sixth century is testified to by the discovery at Ratnagiri, of a fragmentary stone inscription, most likely containing a Buddhist *Tantra*, which, as the late Mr. R. Chanda observes is "in very cursive Gupta characters" and "may be assigned to the sixth century A.D. on palaeographic grounds." The probability is that the inscription

is still earlier. The deities that the above detached sculptures at Bhubaneswar represent, are found to be inseparably connected with temple structures and there can be no doubt that such sculptures formed parts of temples, no longer in existence, which were apparently earlier in date then the Satrughnesvara, the earliest standing temple of Bhubaneswar.

Such detached sculptures as are found in the Bharati Matha also exist at a number of places of Bhubaneswar. The temple of Uttaresvara situated on the northern bank of the Vindu Sarovara tank along with eight other smaller temples, contains most interesting early sculptures. The temple has been rebuilt and treated with modern mortar and plaster and the side-niches have been renewed and projected out of the main plan. Its *Jagamohana* which is a close copy of that of the Vaitala temple, contains in the front facade two images of *Dvarapalas* not in the usual positions of door jambs, but on the walls on each side of the door facing the east. In the western niche is enshrined a unique image of Kartikeya which is the earliest image of that deity and may be assigned to the third or fourth century A.D. On the north side is to be found an image of Kama with Rati and Priti. In the small temples standing to the west and north of the Muktesvara temple are to be found two images of Nagas that bear sockets below their arms and clamp marks on their pedestals which indicate that they were part of a structure, but the type of temple to which they belonged, has not come down to us.

The detached sculptures to be found at Bhubaneswar and at Jajpur suggest the existence of the early temples of Orissa which are no longer *in situ*. These early temples probably represent the tentative efforts of the architects, which led to the growth of the *sikhara* temple or the *rekha* temple as it otherwise known in Orissa. There are also the remains of temple structures at Jajpur in the Cuttack district and at Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district, which may be connected with the early movement of the temple architecture in India. At Kalasapur, situated about a mile from the present temple of Viraja at Jajpur, which is traditionally known to be the original site of the shrine of that deity, there are still the remains of a small stone temple that may be assigned to the early Gupta period The door jambs which were perhaps the only sculptured parts of the structure, have been removed. The remaining parts are still lying there to give an idea about its shape and form. Among them the main *amalaka sila* (the fluted finial) and the *bhumi amalakas* so profusely found in the early sikhara temples,

cannot be traced. The different mouldings invariably seen in the basements of all later sikhara temples, are also conspicuous by their absence. Evidently the temple was very different from those still existing in Orissa and it is not unlikely that it was a flat-roofed one like the Gupta temple at Sanchi. The small stone temple representing the shrine of Bhima still to be found on top of the Mahendra mountain in the Ganjam district, is devoid of sculptures, but it is not a *sikhara* temple. It is a flat-roofed stone structure, but with no circumbulatory covered path to be generally seen in the early Gupta temples. The shrine of Gokarnnesvara at the same place is very ancient and it is frequently mentioned in the copperplate records of the Ganga kings of Svetaka dating back to the fifth century A. D.

The shape and form of the most of the early temples of Orissa still remain unknown to us and, as observed above, they perhaps represented the tentative efforts which finally led to the emergence of the *sikhara* temple as the dominant type.

The Kalinga Type of Temple Architecture

The *sikhara* type ultimately became the dominant form of temple architecture at Bhubaneswar and the earliest standing temples are the finished products of that type. But the Orissan temple architecture by reason of its distinguishing peculiarities and a long history of evolution, soon came to acquire for itself a distinct nomenclature *viz.* the Kalinga type, and was includod in the other types of temples, Nagara, Besara and Dravida raising their number to four, Prof R. D. Banerji has drawn our attention to an inscription of the pre-Muslim period in the temple of Amritesvara at Holal in the Bellary District, in which mention has been made of four classes of temples, Nagara, Kalinga, Dravida and Besara. Prof. Banerji's view has further been supported by other scholars who have opined that certain well-marked peculiarities distinguish the Orissan group of temples from the temples of Northern India, Central Provinces, Rajputana, Guzerat and Congra. They have also shown that the *sikhara* temples characterised by the Orissan spire are to be found in the area formerly known as Trikalinga. They are to be found in Bankura (Bengal) in the east, Amarakantaka (M.P.) in the west and Vizagapatam (Andhra) in the south, which, according to them comprised the area of Trikalinga.

But the Kalinga type should be taken to be a sub-class of the Nagara type rather than a class by itself in as much as both Kalinga and

Nagara temples posses spires or *sikharas* and *mukhasalas*, owing their origin probably to the same wooden models. The surface of their spires also consists of a series of miniature *sikharas* which dominate the latter, but gracefully adorn the former. These points of similarity are however sharply contrasted by the points of difference which are best illustrated in the Lingaraja temple at Bhubaneswar and Kandarya temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand, both being almost contemporaries and the mature products of the Kalinga and Nagara types. The Khajuraho temple stands on a higher platform and is supported by a higher basement. The pillared side chapels and massive round piers embedded in the wall provide additional features and stability to the temple structure. The orderly repetitions of the miniature *sikhara* on the surface become an element of decoration besides being additional supports to the main and central *sikhara*. The total effect of all these architectural devices has been to strengthen the central structure and to make it a compact and organic whole with the side ones. The Lingraja temple, on the other hand, has not these stabilising factors, but what has apparently been a loss, has added to its grace and dignity. The *sikhara* rises in almost vertical sweep with rows of miniature *sikharas* forming part of the wall surface but not dominating it. Stability has been secured by the intrinsic strength of the temple itself but not with the help of side structures.These are, in the main, the differences between two types of temples, Nagara and Kalinga, but the European writers have discerned only two main movements in the Indian architecture *viz.* Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, representing the two main cultures of Ancient India. This classification, in a wider sense, is also correct.

But in their early developments the spire of the Nagara and the Kalinga types appears to have been almost the same. The temple of Mundesvari in the Bhabua Subdivision of the Shahbad district in Bihar, which has been assigned to the seventh century A.D. by scholars, shows that it was not very difrerent from the early temples of Bhubaneswar and other places of Orissa in the seventh century A. D. The *sikhara* of Mundesvari is not in existence, but a fragment of the *amalaka* (fluted finial) originally crowning the top of the spire is still lying in the site. Several half-*amalakas* are also to be seen among the detached architectural members lying scattared around the monument, which provide an indubitable proof that the *bhumi-amalakas* had originally been used on the spire of the Mundesvari. On the temple of Parsuramesvara at Bhubaneswar, which is a contemporary of the Mundesvari, the *bnumi-amalakas* make their appearance on the *konika-pagas* (corner facets or pilasters) of the spire at regular intervals of three courses. It may, there–

fore, be presumed that they occupied the similar position on the Mundesvari also. To these *bhumi-amalakas* we have to trace the evolution of the *anga sikharas* (the turrets) that constitute such a prominent feature in the later temples and that are found as part of wall surfaces on the temples like Lingaraja and Brahmesvara at Bhubaneswar and as sharp projections on the temples like Kandarya and Laksmanesvara at Khajuraho. In their early developments the Nagara and Kalinga spires thus do not seem to have any great difference. In Magadha, the original home of the Nagara type, and in the northern regions the early temples of the Nagara type characterized by lofty towers, have completely disappeared, but the miniature votive temples still to be found at Saranath and in the Museum of the Bharatiya Kala Bhavan at Venaras, demonstrate that they too had *bhumi-amalakas* at regular intervals of three courses like those on the spire of the Parasutamesvara. Thus in their early manifestations there was very little difference between the Nagara and the Kalinga types. The real distinction between the two types is however to be seen in their ground plan which is octagonal in the former, but is square in the latter. Whatever may the differences between them, the Orissan temple came to be known as the Kalinga type and found mention as such even in the inscriptions as in the Amritesvara temple mentioned above. All temples built between the sixth century and the sixteenth century A. D. in Orissa belong to this Kalinga type and the differences to be noticed between the earlier and later ones are of dimensions and elaborations rather than bold departures. To understand the long series of tha temples of Orissa we have to divide them into groups and place them to the political and cultural epochs known to us from history. Such a process may involve marginal errors and overlappings, but this is the only way to present the subject to the readers in an intelligible form. There are numerous temples in which the epigraphic or palaeographic date are entirely lacking. Such temples can however be correlated on the basis of their architectural features, their decorative motifs and sculptures and iconography of their images, to one or other of the monuments of which the chronology is known. An analytical study of the dated and datable temples and its cumulative results bring out their correlation in an emphatic manner.

The Monuments of the Sailodbhava Period.
(c. A.D. 650-750)

As already observed, the temples assigned to ths Sailodbhava period were not necessarliy built by the Sailodbhava rulers, nor had

they all been erected in the areas over which the rulers of this dynasty established their sway. They have been assigned to the period of their rule on the basis of the close affinities to be found in them and on the basis of their dates as ascertained from various data.

Satrughnesvara :—Even the earliest extant temple, the Satrughnesvara, is found to be a mature conception and the origin of the monument apparently lie further back. It represents a *sikhara* temple and its shape as available now after restoration and a few sculptures that still exist on the mounment or have been recovered from it, supply affinities with those of the Dasavatara temple at Deogarh, also assigned to the sixth century A. D. A Navagraha slab, originally forming the lintel of one of its side niches, contains the names of the eight planets which can palaeographically be assigned to the end of the sixth century A. D. (*Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XV, 1949, p. 114). The sculptures of the Satrughnesvara are marked by the vigour and exuberance of the designs recalling the best characteristics of the post-Gupta Art. It had a *Jagamohana* of which tectangular plinth still exists, but during the recent restoration it was neither noticed nor restored. It seems to have been a pillared hall like the porch of the Parasuramesavara, but unlike those in the Parasuramesvara *Jagamohana* such pillars were octagonal in shape with lotus designs at intervals and lotus capitals at the tops. The only pillar that had somehow escaped destruction, was lying inside the ruined temple and it was preserved by the present writer in the Orissan State Museum. A part of a grill similar to that in the *Jagamohana* of the Parasuramesvara, containing dancing figures, was discovered from the neighbourhood of the Satrughnesvara and it has found place in the Orissa State Museum. These evidences conclusively prove that the Satrughnesvara had originally a porch with the free-standing pillars supporting the superstructure, which resemble those in the Siva temple at Bhumara, roughly contemporary in date, though it should be emphasized that in spite of such affinities the Bhumara temple architecturally belonged to an entirely different conception. The ruined temple of Laksmanesvara standing by its side appears to be a closely analogous monument in shape as well as form and it seems to be an immediate successor of the Satrughnesvara.

Parasuramesvara (A. D. 650) : The temple shows the same structural peculiarities and also provides us with an opportunity to study the form of the *Jagamohana* which is in a good state of preservation. The temple was thoroughly repaired by the Public Works

Department in 1903, and in the process, much of the original canstruction of the roof in the cella has been disturbed; but nevertheless, its original shape and form have been preserved to some extent. The arrangements followed in the roof or story of the cella in these two early examples and their cognate members, are suggestive of the storeys (*atus*) formed of wooden beams and planks to be still found in the mud houses of villages. The *Jagamohana* is a rectangular structure with a clerestory, plain massive caves, perforated stone windows and two doors. The interior of the structure which is a pillared hall, is, therefore more lighted than the later *Jagamohanas* with only one door and two balustraded windows.

The *pagas* or pilasters which are one of the main features of the Orissan temple architecture, are not found to have been fully developed in the Parasuramesvara. In the main temple they appear more as shallow buttresses than as the pilasters of the later periods. Nevertheless, the architectural principle of projection in each face on which the later builders relied so much, is to be found in its beginning. We may call the temple and a *tri-ratha* type, in which the fully decorated pilasters, one central (*raha-paga*) and two corner ones (*konika-pagas*), alternate with reserved interspaces, but not with deep recesses with the figures of *gaja-simha* as in the later temples. Each of the pilasters contains a niche, the central one containing the largest and the other two two, smaller ones of equal dimensions. Because of the door of the sanctuary occupying the position of the central niche in the front facade, the total number of niches has been eleven, but in the later temples their number was reduced to only three, corresponding with three central projections on three faces. In each of these eleven niches was enshrined a deity carved out of a single block of stone and otherwise unattached to the main structure. It is due to this technique that most of the deities have been removed, excepting the images of Ganesa and Kartikeya still to be found in the central niches of the south and the east.

The designs in the tower are ones of chaitya aches with medallions or shallow niches, all containing Saivite images or scenes from Siva's life. The designs are stereotyped and repeated in all the four facades with equal emphasis. In the corners half-*amalakas* occur in every three courses of stone and to them we may trace the origin of the *anga-sikharas* that constitute such a prominent feature in the later temples. A sunken panel marking the transition between the perpedicular parallelopiped cube and the curvilinear tower, runs round the

temple and contains mostly the amorous couples and diamond-shaped designs The crowning members of *sikhara* are an *amalaka*, a *kalasa* and a *lingam*, but not an *ayudha* as in the later temples. All designs, decorations and deities occur in bas-relief but not in *alto-relievo* and in this respect they are more reminiscent of their distant ancestors in the Udayagiri and Khandagiri caves than of their protoypes in the later temples. The interiors of both the temple and the *Jagamohana* are severely plain.

Svarnnajalesvara : It stands on the road from the Lingaraja to Kedaragauri at Bhubaneswar and was in a utterly ruined condition, but the structure is being restored now. The evidences that connect it with the Parasuramesvara are that the cult images in both have the same attributes and that both possess close architectural affinities. It bears on the lintel of its northern niche a scene of Siva's marriage, which can be regarded as a replica of the same scene carved on the lintel of the eastern niche of the Parasuramesvara. The Svarnnajalesvara like all the early temples, also bears several scenes from the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* in a sunken panel running round the *Vimana* and marking the transition between the *vada* and the *sikhara*. Some of these scenes have been damaged beyond identification but others, though partially preserved, can be identified in full. The first of these stories appearing on the north, is that of Rama killing the golden deer. Rama is seen here in the act of discharging an arrow at the deer which in the next panel assumes the terrific form of the demon Marichi. The trees represent the jungle where the scene took place. The second story appearing on the west represents *Vali-badha*. Rama is first seen here cutting down *sapta-salas* and next two monkeys, who are evidently Vali and Sugriva, are seen in a close combat The third scene on the south represents the fight between Kirata and Arjuna, in which the boar has become the bone of contention. Another panoramic scene on the north side represent the story of Hanuman flying to Lanka for ascertaining the whereabout of Sita These scenes of rare antiquarian and artistic value are crumbling the pieces

The Badagaon Temple : Badagaon is a small village situated five miles from Bhanjanagara of the Ganjam district. A stone Siva temple which is to be found there, is a close prototype of the Parasuramesvra. In plan and elevation, in the scheme of decoration, in height and dimensions, it shows such remarkable affinities with the Parasuramesvara that a

conclusion becomes unavoidable to regard them as close contemporaries. The chaitya arches, the medallions, number of niches on the outer walls, the undeveloped pilasters or the *pagas* the sunken panels marking transition between the perpendicular portions and curvilinear towers and the half-*amalakas* occurring on the corner pilasters in both, all show a remarkable conformity in both the structures. The *Jagamohana* which was probly like that of the Parasuramesvara, is no longer, in existence and it has been replaced by a modern *Mukhasala*. The Sailodbhavas originally ruled over Kongoda comprising the modern districts of Ganjam and Puri and this temple at Badagaon appears to have belonged to the period of their rule.

The Svapnesvara at Kualo : It stands in an utterly ruined condition on the bank of the Brahmani river near the town of Talcher. It is a *panchayattana* temple, of which the four corner shrines are in a reasonably well-preserved condition. Its scheme of decoration is closely similar to that of the Parasuramesvara. Dr. Vidya Dehejia has for the first time described and discussed the features of this early ruined temple (*Early Stone Temples of Orissa*, New Delhi, 1978. p, 90). It possibly belongs to the last part of the Sailodbhava rule or the earliest part of the Bhauma epoch.

The Singanatha temple : It is situated in a rocky island in the Mahanadi river and can be approached from the village Gopinathpur in the Cuttack district. It is also one of the earliest standing temples of Orissa and it shows close affinities both in art and architecture with the earliest group of standing temples. Dr. Dehejia observes that "the entire scheme of decoration of the *Mukhasala* walls is an organised one that speaks of a maturity not to be found in any temples of group "A"." It too seems to have belonged to the transitory period between the Sailodbhava and Bhauma political epochs.

The New Bhavanisankara Temple at Bhubaneswar : It has been recently discovered while digging a drain in the compound of the later Bhavanisankara temple and it is to be found between the Lingaraja temple and the Vindu Sarovara tank. This is a very small temple, but possesses close affinities with the earliest standing temples of Bhubaneswar.

The Monuments of the Bhauma Period (c. A.D 750-950)

The Sisiresvara : In the monuments of this period the earlier traditions have been preserved, but they show certain innovations,

modifications and improvements which constitute the peculiarities that mark them out from the earliest group. The typical specimen of this group is the temple of Sisiresvara (c. A.D. 800) at Bhubaneswar, which illustrates these peculiarities and these peculiarities are to be noticed in the *pages* of the *Vimana*, in the new orientations of the niches enshrining side-deities, in some innovations introduced in the outer face of the *sikhara* and in the modifications of the roof of the *Jagamohana*. The *pagas* in the cubical portion of the temple are still undeveloped and as in the Parasuramesvara, they appear as flat projections or shallow buttresses, but their number has increased to five and the total number of niches carved in each *paga* with a deity in each has also become five. The central or *raha-pagas* contain as usual the largest niches enshrining the images of Ganesa in the south, Kartikeya in the west and Mahisa-marddini in the south, and the smaller niches in other *pagas* contain other gods or goddesses or decorative figures. A noteworthy feature of the images enshrined is that, unlike their counterparts in the niches of the Parasuramesvara, they have all been made of two or three blocks of stone contained in two or three courses of the walls. They have thus been made part of the walls with the result that none of the side-deities is missing from the Sisiresvara or its cognate members. The new technique is to be traced to the centres of the Bhauma tradition of art and architecture, where the colossal images are found to have been built in sections.

While these peculiarities provide a contrast, the Sisiresvara is otherwise linked with the Parasuramesvara by possessing almost a similar type of *sikhara*. The chaitya arches, half-*amalakas*, shallow niches and medallions that decorate the *sikhara* of the Parsauramesvara are to be found in the similar positions of the Sisiresvara also. The only innovation is a rectangular niche that occurs in the *raha-pagas* and that occupies the position of the largest medallion of the Parasuramesvara. A sunken panel with amorous couples carved in it, also marks the transition between the cubicul portion and the curvilinear tower. The summit is ruined, but with a reference to congnate temples, it can safely be concluded that it possessed the usual crowning members.

The *Jagamohana*, like that of the Parasuramesvara, is a rectangular structure with a clerestory which has fallen down and with massive caves fully sculptured with the battle scenes and episodes from Siva's life. Like the *Jagamohana* of the Parasuramesvara, it does not however possess two doors, perforated stone windows or grills. The

interior also does not reveal free-standing pillars but has only the pilasters in the walls. The roof was built in the cantilever principle which is an advanced architectural feature and is to be noticed in the porch of the Gandharadi temples at Baudh, taken to be later then the Parasuramesvara. The inner walls of the porch are plain, but those of the cella, by possessing six small niches, show altogether a new feature. These niches might have served some utilitarian purpose or contained delties no longer to be found.

The Vaital Temple : Though a contemporary of the Sisiresvara, the Vaital temple (c. A.D.775) represents altogether a different conception, and as we have already said, its shape, which does not conform to the dominant Orissan type, might be traced to that of a Buddhist chaity a hall. Mr. M. M. Ganguly suggests that the shape of the Vaital has been derived from the *rathas* of Mahabalipuram. Of the seven pagodas at Mahabalipuram, Bhima's and Sahadeva's *rathas* have some similarity with it. The finials on the roof of the Vaital temple, however, unlike those of the *rathas*, consist of *amalakas, kalasas* and *ayudhas* (*trisulas*) which ae the usual crowning members of all Bhubaneswar temples, but its elongated and vaulted roof is suggestive of the *ratha* archltecture of the south. However, as Mr. Percy Brown has shown, in the ultimate analysis the ancestors of the *rathas, gopurams* and the Vaital temple are found to be the chaitya halls of the Buddhists. Besides, the similarity of the style we have further reasons to connect the Vaital temple with the Buddhist tradition, because the influence of the Bhauma School, essentially representing a Buddhists tradition, is clear and definite on it. The *sikhara* temple had not a firm footlng at Bhubaneswar when the Vaital came into existence and its builders were surely aware of the type as is proved by the existence of four miniature *sikhara* temples on the four corners of its *Jagamohana*. The finials on its roof are also a proof of their knowledge of the *sikhara* temple. But with their Buddhistic learning and training, the Bhauma architects seem to have first showed a predilection for the chaitya-hall type and the Vaital temple, has been the result of that predilection. The Vaital, however, did not remain a solitary example, because, the later builders of Bhubaneswar evolved a type of temple architecture similar to that of the Vaital, which came to be known as *Khakhara* in their *Silpasatras*. At least three more examples of the *Khakhara* type, on inside the compound of the Lingaraja temple; the second the Gauri temple itself near the Kedaresvara; the other, a miniature near the Siddhesvara, are still to be found at Bhubaneswar.

Mr. M. M. Ganguly attempts to derive the name Vaital from *vahitra* (a sea-going vessel) in comparision of *mastaka* with the hull of a ship reversed and its finials with the masts, but these comparisons are far-fetched and the word Vaital cannot be taken to be a contraction or corruption of *vahitra*. His suggestion to connect the shape of the temple with a pumpkin gourd with an assumption that the Oriya people have a particular liking for this vegetable, is also fanciful. The true origin of the name is to be traced to the type of the cult that was practised in this temple. The Vaital temple was a place of worship of the Kapalikas who used to invoke the aid of the *Vetalas* (spirits) for their *siddhis*, and from the word *Vetalas*, the name Vaital has been derived.

Although the roof of the Vaital is of different style, the lower stages of the superstructure follow almost the same architectural disposition and decoration as those of the Sisiresvara. Heavy mouldings with scrolls peculiar to the sculptures of this group, are to be noticed at the lower basement and this peculiarity is also shared by the Sisiresvara. A rectangular niche in the pattern of a window occurs on each side of the roof except on the west and sunken panel running round the structure and containing various scenes and amorous couples in relief, serves as a line of demarcation between the walls (*vadas*) and the roof (*mastaka*). The *Jagamohana*, a low rectangular structure with four miniature *sikhara* temples embedded at its four corners, which are an innovation in this particular temple, is otherwise a close prototype of the porch of the Sisiresvara. It has no perforated windows, grills or pillars inside and its roof has been built on the cantilever principle. The interior of the temple particularly of the sanctuary, is intensely dark, which was perhaps necessary for, and consistent with, the strange esoteric rites that were once performed here. Both the inner and outer faces of the walls of the porch are plain, but the outlines of certain designs still existing on the outer faces indicate that the decorations have been left incomplete. The inner walls of the sanctuary contain fifteen niches enshrining deities, some of which are most terrific in the appearance,

The Talesvara and others: Another ruined temple, Talesvara by name, situated in the paddy-fields in the close neighbourhood of the Parasuramesvara, also bears architectural and sculptural peculiarities of this group of temples. The *sikhara* has broken off, but *vadas* of the *Vimana* and the door frame that still remain, furnish enough evidence to connect it with this epoch The lintel contain eight planets, and the

jambs; the figures of Ganga and Yamuna and the scrolls of the jambs are similar to those of the Vaital temple. The side-deities still existing are found to have been built in sections. Several sculptural specimens of this temple have been removed to the Orissa State Museum, of which one is an image of Lakulisa and another is of Ardhanarisvara, both built in sections. The latter is a close prototype of the image of the same deity to be found in the western *vada* of the Vaital temple. Another specimen, removed to the Museum, contains the dwarfs with uplifted hands, flanking a central chaitya arch. This decorative design is peculiar only to the temples of this group and is conspicuous by its absence in the other groups. The Talesvara, so far as available evidences indicate, belongs to the Vaital-Sisiresvara group, probably a close contemporary of the Vaital as the style and execution of sculptures indicate.

The two notable temples of the period, the Vaital and the Sisiresvara are still in a tolerably good state of preservation. The artistic excellence of the sculptures of the Vaital may be found lacking in the Sisiresvara, but there is a class of evidence which connects the two in spite of their fundamental difference as architectural conceptions. In both we recognize the same sculptural designs and motifs, a few in such a manner as to suggest their being replicas of each other. The images of Nataraja that appear on the front facades of both, have not only identical characteristics, but they also appear in almost identical surroundings. Certain decorative motifs favoured by the sculptors of the period such as the dwarfs with the uplifted hands that flank a central chaitya arch, and the *Kirttimukha* flanked by the two lions with strings of pearls hanging from their mouths, constitute conspicuous motifs in both the monuments. The two monuments, in spite of their belonging to different architectural conceptions, are found to possess in common more than mere affinities and cannot be widely separated from each other in time.

Two other small temples, now in ruined condition, stand to the north of the Sisiresvara in the compound of the family home of the Paramagurus. The title of the family indicates that the family served as the preceptors or priests of some royal family and these temples enshrined their family deities. Although miniature in shape, they exhibit the same architectural dispositions, the same type of decorations and the same type of Nataraja as above and as such, they should be included in the group.

The temples so far discussed bear the above characteristics in their superb manifestations and as such, they may be taken to be the products of the best period of this epoch. There are, however, four other examples wholly undecorated, which, on account of certain characteristic features, may be placed to this epoch. They are the Mohini temple situated on the southern bank of the Vindu Sarovara and the Uttaresvara situated on the northern bank of the same tank and two more unnamed ones, in the midst of the bazar half-buried in earth. The image of Ganesa and other sculptures to be found in the Mohini belong to the early types and are allied to such sculptures in other monuments of the group. It has a *Jagamohana* which is similar to that of the other temples, but with several free-standing pillars inside the hall. It is difficult to say whether these pillars were part of the original construction or later additions. The temple of Uttaresvara is also wholly undecorated. We have already shown that several images which have been fixed to its walls and niches did not originally belong to it. It has a *Jagamohana* which is a close prototype of the others of the group. The Mohini contains a Chamunda as its presiding deity which is similar to the one in the Vaital temple. The Uttaresvara besides a Siva *lingam*, also has a Chamunda. The seventeenth chapter of the *Savarnadri-mahodaya* tells us that four images of Chandika are to be found on the four banks of the sacred tank, Vindu Sarovara. Of these four, the images of Chamunda of the Mohini and the Uttaresvara temples apparently represent the two, and the other two are probably represented by the two images of Mahisamarddini now enshrined respectively in a miniature modern temple on the western bank, and in a dilapidated laterite structure on the eastern bank. Since the two images of Chamunda are similar to the one in the Vaital temple, and since the two images of Mahisamarddini belong to the early type oi this epoch, we should trace the origin of these four shrines, back to this epoch. The dilapidated laterite stucture on the eastern bank contains a badly defaced inscription which refers itself to the reign of the Ganga king, Vira Narasimha. It is certain that the type of Mahisamarddini, which the shrine contains as its presiding deity, never occurs in any of the temple built during the Ganga period The possibilities are that the inscription was either incised during the Ganga period, or though the shrine was existing from the period under observation, the temple was built during the Ganga supremacy.

The temple of Vahirangesvara stands on the top of the Dhauli hill and was in utterly ruined condition, but it has now been rebuilt.

The walls of the sanctum that still remain, though unsculptured, clearly show affinities with other temples of this group. The images of Ganesa and Kartikeya that are still to be found in the side niches, are built in sections as part of the walls, and belong to their early types and are closely analogous to those in the temples of this group. There is an inscription in an artificial cave of this hill dated in the year 93 of unspecified era, which refers itself to the reign of Santikaradeva, and which credits Bhimata, a resident of Viraja (modern Jaipur), with the construction of a monastery. The year 93, when referred to the Bhauma era of A.D. 736 corresponds to A.D. 829. It is apparent that the hill of Dhauli again became a centre of religious activities during the reign of the Bhauma king Santikaradeva. Apart from the characteristic features presented by the temple, the above inscription also appears to support the ascription of the Vahirangesvara as a monument of this period.

The presence of not a few sculptures and architectural fragments bearing such features as are characteristic of the temples of this group at Bhubaneswar, indicate the existence of more temples other than those *in situ*. The main consideration here, apart from stylistic peculiarities, is one of technique and iconography and in both these respects such sculptures are found to be closely allied to those that are familiar in the temples of this group. Reference, among other, may be made in this connexion to the three detached images of Mahisamarddini in the Vaital, the Sisiresvara and the Charanarayana, the image of Parvati in the Lingaraja compound, the image of Kartikeya in the Yamesvara compound and two images of Ganesa originally in the Ganga-Yamuna temple and now in the Orissa State Museum. Most of these images are built in sections. In iconography also they each present the early type and form, characteristic of this period. From evidence, stylistic as well epigraphic, the extant temples have been ascribed to the Bhauma epoch of influence, and the monuments of which such detached sculptures once formed the parts, should be assigned to that period. The architectural fragment now underneath the ruined laterite building in the Yamesvara compound represents part of a *sikhara* which, with the early charactertstics in shape and decoration schemes, might have belonged to an early monument of this period.

The monuments produced at Bhubaneswar during the Bhauma epoch of influence, may be divided into two sub-groups, the first represented by the Markandesvara, the Talesvara, the Vaital and the

Sisiresvara and the second by the Mohini, the Uttaresvara and the two half-buried temples in the midst of the bazar. The first group is characterized by a wealth of sculptures and decorative motifs that are significantly absent in the second. Such 'sculptures and decorative motifs in the first sub-group are distinguished by a strength and vigour combined with a balance and a chasteness of execution that make them the best products of the age. The dates of the temples no longer extant, cannot be ascertained. But from a few of the detached asulptures exhibiting the same vigour and excellence, some such temples might have been correlated to the temples of the first sub-group which, on the evidences of the Vaital and the Sisiresvara, may be placed in the eighth century A.D. In the other sub-group, headed by the Mohini the temples present a rather bald appearance because of sparse decoration, and the sculptures too lose much of their vigour and elegance. Possibly they indicate a later period of decadence, say the ninth century A. D., when the tradition itself was on the wane due, perhaps to the decline of the power of the Bhaumas.

In the Ratnagiri area in the Cuttack district and in the present town of Jajpur the architectural and sculptural survivals still to be traced indicate that the temples of the Bhauma epoch also existed at these places. These survivals are to be discussed later. In the valley of the dried up Prachi river several temples bearing the characteristics of this cultural epoch, still exist and among them the Varahi temple at the village Chaurasi is most remarkable. The architecture of the temple shows a modified form of the *Khakkara* type to which, as already observed, the temple of Vaital at Bhubaneswar belongs. The temple of Varahi seems to have been built in the last part of the Bhauma period. It has still a rectangular porch with no pillars supporting the superstructure, but like the *Mukhasala* of the early temples it has a clerestory. Dr. Dehejia has given some details of the characteristics of this temple in her work *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* 1978, p. 125ff.

The twin temples of Gandharadi, about ten miles from Baudh, bear the characteristics of the Bhauma epoch, but since this place was in the occupation of the Bhanja rules of Khinjali, it is they who probably erected these two monuments. One of them is dedicated to Siva and the other to the Nilamadhava (Vishu) These two temples show the architectural and sculptural features of the Sisiresvara at Bhubaneswar and may be assigned to this epoch,

The main reason for considering the monuments discussed above as products of one cultural epoch, is furnished by unmistakably identical features and characteristics in art and architecture. So far as architecture is concerned the temples are characterized by the *pancha-ratha* plan unlike the *tri-ratha* plan of the temples of the earlier group; by rectangular niches in the facades of their *sikharas*; by triangular or rectangular niches in the inner walls of their cellas with or without images; and by the same type of *Jagamohanas* with one door but no window and pillars inside. Apart from the above common characteristics, another significant feature of identity is furnished by the practice of building up the images of the *parsva-devatas* in sections as part of the wall surface, instead of carving such images entire from one block of stone and then fixing them in niches. Such affinities may also be recognized in their sculpture, in the decorative schemes and in the iconography of the images. In style as well as in execution, the sculptures are characterized by a certain strength and vigour, combined with a balance and equipoise, and a charming modelling full of the plastic sense and perspective. Among the decorative motifs we find the common types of scrolls, foliated vase capitals, lotus medailione, lotus petals, chaitya and half-chaitya arches, the borders of beads in the medallions, the *Kirtti-mukhas* flanked by lions with strings of pearls hanging from their mouths and dwarfs with uplifted hands flanking a central chaitya arch. The last two decorative patterns occur only on the temples of this group. In iconography, the images of Ganesa, Kartikeya, Parvati, Mahisamarddini, Nataraja, Ardhanarisvara and the planets occurring on these temples are bound together not only as typological but also as belonging to a common conception by their identical stances and poses, by the commonness of their respective attributes and by similar types of ornaments and dresses. The divine figures are separatad and distinguished from the secular ones by the presence of haloes. The latter usually stand cross-legged, sometimes with their weight resting on staffs fixed to the ground. A Buddhist inspiration might have influenced the iconography and execution of a few of the images in the Vaital and the Sisiresvara and this inspiration may perhaps be traced to the influence of the Bhaumas and, or their art tradition that flourished under their patronage. This art tradition, it may be noted, served in its initial and formative stages the Buddhist religion. The artists reared in that tradition were imbued with Buddhist ideas and might have unconsciously left apparent traces of their training in erections of a different faith.

The Buddhist influences and ideas are best illustrated in some sculptures of the temples of Sisiresvara and Vaital at Bhubaneswar. Carved in bold relief and partially mutilated are to be found two images on the southern wall of the Sisiresvara *Jagamohana.* One of them is a figure of Lakuli seated in preaching pose (*Dharmma-pravartana-mudra*) with a *lakuta* or club placed on his right shoulder and with his six disciples seated on the side panels. The pedestal is occupied by a *tri-ratna* super-imposed with a lotus and flanked by a deer and a Naga on each side. If we put a wheel in place of the lotus we get a complete Saranath device (a wheel flanked by deer) which is distinctly a Buddhist symbol. A sculptor trained in the Buddhist tradition and accustomed to carve a Saranatha device on the pedestals of the Buddha images, has, by force of practice, allowed himself to carve the same device here and then has tried to camouflage it by putting a lotus in place of a wheel. It is to be noted that neither a canonical prescription nor a precedence of occurrence exists to allow such a device to be carved on the pedestal of a Saivite image.

The second image is that of Amoghasiddhi whom the Nepalese Buddhists consider as the fifth Dhyani Buddha. It sits in the *samadhi* posture with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over its head and holds a vase in the left hand and a *japamala* in the right. That in the medieval times a form of the Buddha had been conceived with a canopy of seven hoods over its head, is proved not only by the images under consideration, but also by another image, now preserved in the Orissa State Museum, which has also a canopy of seven hoods over its head and a Saranath device (a wheel flanked by two deers) on the pedestal. The Saranth device unquestionably proves its identity with the Buddha. The Orissa Museum image originally belonged to Khadipada near Jajpur, which was one of the centres of Bhauma art and from which six Buddhist images have been removed to the Orissa State Museum, including one of Avalokitesvara containing an inscription that refers itself to the reign of the Bhauma king Subhakaradeva. Since the Khadipada image with a canopy of seven serpent hoods over the head and a Saranath symbol on the pedestal, was discovered in association with such Buddhist images as Dhyani Buddha, Vagisvara and Avalokitesvara, its identification with Amoghasiddhi cannot be doubted and consequently its prototype occurring on the Sisiresvara temple should also be taken to be a representative of the same Buddhist dividity. An Amoghasidhi of the Sisiresvara type with the same attri-

butes and even with the same details of representation, also occurs on the northern inner wall of the sanctum of the Vaital temple.

A few more images, distinctly of Buddhist origin, are also to be found on the Sisiresvara temple. One such image, now every much mutilated was most likely of. Jambhala, the Buddhist counterpart of Kuvera. The other is an image of Avalokitesvara carved on the northern outer wall of the sanctum. It holds in the left hand a lotus with a stalk rising from the pedestal in the usual fashion of the Avalokitesvara images discovered from Khadipada, and has also the same types of ornaments and top-knots of hair. A comparison of this image with that from Khadipada bearing the inscription of Subhakaradeva, leaves little doubt that both are the products of the same school of art. Even some Brahmanical images have been given the appearance of the Buddhist deities. An image apparently intended as Brahmanical, carved in a shallow niche below the Nataraja figure occupying the front facade, exhibits in the manner of its sitting and in the lotus with a stalk to the proper right, analogies with the figure of Avalokitesvara. Some Buddhist influences are also to be noticed in the friezes which occur on the cornices of the *Jagamohana* and which depict various incidents of Siva's life. One sleeping figure in the eastern cornice very much resembles the Buddha usually depicted in a Nirvana scence of the Buddhist sculptures.

Buddhist tradition has not feiled again to impose some of its architectural peculiarlities on the Sakta and Saiva temples of Vaital and Sisiresvara. The Vaital Deul is not a *sikhara* type of temple, although its predecessors at Bhubaneswar like the Satrughnesvara and Parasuramesvara were almost the finished products of that type. This bold departure from the traditional form must be traced to an external force which Mr. Percy Brown has attempted to explain in the following words :

"But the Vaital Deul is a very different conception, and derives from another and entirely different tradition. For it is obvious that the tower of its sanctuary is not only allied more to the southern style as examplified by the Dravidian Gopurams, but like those structures, its original ancestor was the Chaitya hall of the Buddhists".

The Buddhistic influences are thus a factor which is to be taken into consideration while determining the characteristics of the temples produced during the period of the Bhauma supremacy.

Monuments of the Somavamsi Period (c. A.D. 950-1150)

The Muktesvara : The Muktesvara temple of Bhubaneswar which appears to be the earliest monument of this period is one of the most beautiful temples of India and has been described by Mr. M. M. Ganguly as a dream realized in sandstone. Elegantly decorated from top to bottom, it stands within a gracefully laid-out low compound wall with a beautiful *torana* in front. A part from its beautiful sculptures that eloquently speak of the sense of proportion and perspective of the sculptors and their extraordinary skill in depicting the objects of the most minute character with great exactitude, the temple also reveals some notable features both in architecture and in the attributes of the cult images, which with some or no modifications came to be the standard of all the other important temples that followed it. Here we find a porch which marks the beginning of a *pidha* temple. well-shaped pilasters and recesses formed by them, the images carved in *alto-relievo* and *gaja-simha* and Naga columns. In the cult images we find here a mouse used as the mount of Ganesa, a cock associated with Kartikeya babies carried in the arms of Sapta-matrikas and Ketu among the planets, The sculptures in the ceiling of its *Jagamohana* are also altogether a new conception. It is to be noted that these architectural and iconographical features are conspicuous by their absence in the early groups of temples represented by the Parasuramesvara and the Sisiresvara, but are present in the Brahmesvara and the succeeding temples. The affinities of the art and architecture of the Muktesvara temple are therefore to be found with the Brahmesvara and not with the Parasuramesvara. Not withstanding these differences which are obvious at the first examination of the temple, Prof. R. D. Banerjee seems to think that at Bhubaneswar the Muktesvara was the immediate successor of the Parasuramesvara temple. He also makes a curious statement that the temple of Muktesvara "shows the use of decorative bas-reliefs of human or divine incidents for the first time in the medieval temples of Orissa". But as we have already seen, the Parasuramesvara which according to him is the earliest temple of Orissa, contains in bas-relief several incidents from Siva's life.

Although the Muktesvara possesses architectural and sculptural affinities with the Brahmesvara (c. A.D. 1060), in point of chronology the former is certainly earlier than the later. The porch in the Muktesvara which is a *pidha* temple shows that this type of structure was still in the experimental stage and that it had not been provided with

the usual crowning members to be found in its full-fledged prototypes. Some features of the earlier temples are also to be found in the Mukteesvara. Like all early temples, it is a small monument rising to a height of only thirty-four feet. It was built at a time when temples of great height were yet to be attempted. It contains latticed windows in the *Jagamohana*, the models of which were in all probability borrowed from he Parasuramesvara. The models for its graceful octagonal compound wall and the beau'iful *torana* were also borrowed from the temples which are now no longer in existence, but of which the remains can still be traced at Bhubaneswar. The present temple of Siddhesvara standing in the Muktesvara compound, occupies the site of an earlier temple. It has also around it the remains of the octagonal compound wall of that earlier temple, still to be traced. Since the Muktesvara and Siddhesvara are situated close to each other, it will be legitimate to infer that the model of the octagonal compound wall in the Muktesvara was derived from its prototype that existed in the site of the present Siddhesvara. Barring these two examples, no octagonal compound wall is to be found in any temple at Bhubaneswar. No *torana* is also to be found in any of the existing temples at Bhubaneswar, but there is a mound in the paddy-fields known as Dola-mandapa situated in between the temple town and the Brahmesvara, which on excavation yielded the arch of a *torana* along with some of its other parts and also some sculptural specimens showing the earliest types of Chaitya windows. The remains of this *torana* are now in the Orissa State Museum and they show that like the Muktesvara *torana*, it was built in sections and had an arch supported by two pillars. In all likelihood this *torana* which appears to be earlier, provided the model for the Muktesvara one.

The builder of the Muktesvara thus borrowed certain features from the early architectural tradition but also introduced new architectural designs, new art motifs and new conceptions about the iconography of the cult images. The abrupt changes in the early forms of the cult images, in the architectural designs and even in the minute details of the sculptural representations indicate that the builder of the Muktesvara was the harbinger of a new culture. One other significant fact about the iconography may be recognized in the absence of haloes round the heads of the cult imoges. In the early temples the halo formed a distinguishing feature of the cult image and separated it from the secular figure. That the temple is not an exotic one is indicated on

one hand by certain architectural traditions and, on the other, by the persistence of its innovations in all the other notable temples that followed it. In fact, the Muktesvara divides the numerous temples of Bhubaneswar into two broad groups, early and late, and any of its innovations can confidently be taken as the basis of such a division. We can, for instance, take the omission of the haloes from the cult images or the presence of a cock by the side of a Kartikeya as the basis of such a division. Its chronological position lies somewhere between the Sisiresvara (c.A.D.800) and the Brahmeesvara (c.A.D. 1060) temples.

The *Vimana*, square in ground plan, stands on a raised platform and has five pagas or pilasters on each facade. The base shows the usual sub-divisions such as *pada, kumbha, pata, kani* and *vasanta*, which are present in the Brahmesvara and the succeeding temples. This fivefold division is absent in all other earlier monuments. The pilasters, unlike those of the Parasuramesvara and Sisiresvara, are well formed and are with recesses containing *gaja-simha* and Naga columns. As in the earlier temples, each of the facades has three niches which contained *parsva-devatas*, but are now empty. Likewise, there is also a sunken panel which marks the transition between the cubical and curvelinear portions of the temple. In the earlier temples all images have been carved in shallow niches or medallions, but here for the first time the principle images in *alto-relieve* is to be noticed. The earlier practice has not however been altogether abandoned, for, some images appear in niches both in the cubical portion and the *sikhara*. The *sikhar* is short and it had four Natarajas and the four *kirtti-mukhas* on four facades. The Nataraja figure on the western facade became detached and found place in a miniature temple situated within the same compound but it has now been stolen away. As in the earlier temples, no *anga-sikharas* appear on the body of the main tower. The top portion of the *sikhara* has the usual crowning members.

The ground plan of the *Jagamohana* is starlike. Its pyramidal roof rising in tiers or steps, which diminish as they ascend, ends at the centre and is crowned by a *kalasa*, but there is no amalaka as in the later p*idha* temples. The *vadas* on the northern and southern sides have the broadest central pilasters which project out of the main plan of the temple and have each a perforated window with a square frame. The portions of the roof above the windows are of different orientation. They rise in two tiers with the *pidhas* or steps of the roof and are surmounted by the lion. The ends of the tiers in their horizontal

positions have *makaras* swallowing fish. As in the main temple the recesses in between the pilasters have *gaja-simhas* and Naga-columns.

Just in front of the door of the *Jagamohana* stands the beautiful *torana*. The basements of the pillars supporting the arch, square in section, contain on each face a miniature temple flanked at the top by twin *gaja-simhas*. The sixteen-sided shafts consist each of four blocks of stone of which the topmost has loops of pearls-strings hanging down from the mouths of a row of *kirtti-mukhas* above. Superimposed on the topmost block are to be found a *vedika*, an *amalaka* and finally a spreading lotus capital. The arch itself, built in transverse section has a ridge at the top and is sormounted by a *kalasa*. The designs on both the halves are identical and they consist of exquisitely beautiful scorlls, a pair of female figures in a most graceful pose, ornamental niches, and figures of monkeys, peacocks etc. At each end of the arch there is a projecting *makara-mukha*. The total effect of all these decorative designs has been to make it the most beautiful product of art.

The outer face of the octagonal low compound wall is decorated with a number of rectangular niches superimposed by stylized chaitya arches. Each of these niches contains a wheel, a lotus medallion or a medallion with a beatiful scroll, and the chaitya arches contain in each a human or an animal head. The faces in the human heads show various expressions and indicate various stages of human life, some being youthful and others aged. By the strokes of his chisel, the artist has succeeded in making these miniature representations most lifelike, some faces being most serious and contemplative and others most humorous or grotesque. At each turn of the octagonal compound wall, the outer face also has square niches containing deities. These are, in the main, the architectural arrangements of this miniature gem of Orissan architecture, in which each part has been so well placed and so elegantly executed that the whole has been an epitome of beauty.

The ceiling of the *Jagamohana* contains mosr beautiful sculptures which have been referred to by the earlier scholars, but nothing definite has been spoken of them. The decorations have been conceived in the form of a canopy with an eight-petalled lotus at the centre, each petal being occupied by a deity. These deities constitute a group of *Sapta-matrikas* with Viresvara. The main difference of the group from the earlier ones is that all the *matrikas*, except Chamunda, hold babies in their arms and that Viresvara holds a sword in the right hand. On the outer edges of the lotus there appear several panels of sculptures,

Among these may be recognized Kartikeya, Ganesa, several narrative scenes, like Parvati's penance and dancing and musical parties, Kartikeya sits holding a *sakti* in the left hand, with a peacock to his right and a cock to the left. He has three male attendants by his side, of whom two are to be found to his left and one to the right. In a similar panel on the west, occurs an eight-handed dancing Ganesa, holding in the uppermost two hands a snake over the head. In the remaining six hands, of which two are *lost*, *modakas*, a battle-axe, a broken tusk and lotus are to be found. One attendant to the left of the deity strikes cymbals and another to the right, an *ankya-mridanga*. The scrolls, arabesques, flying Vidyadharas, and inter twined tails of Nagas and Nagis enhance the beauty of these sculptures which may truly be regarded as some of the masterpieces of Orissan art. But situated as they are at a difficult place end being always in dark, they have rarely yielded to the camera of a photographer.

The Siva Temple of Baudh :—The Siva temples at Baudh, the Sub-divisional Headquarters of the Phulbani district, seem in all appearance, to belong to the early period of the Somavamsi supremacy. The fine execution of the Muktesvara temple with its superb proportions and exquisite finish of the sculptures and other decorations indicate a resurgent movement linked up probably with the advent of the Somavamsi dynasty. Reference may be made in this connection to the three temples of Baudh situated in the upper Mahanadi Valley which was included in the Kosala country, the original seat of power of the Somavamsis. The three small temples of Baudh are of almost the same height and have identical architectural and sculptural peculiarities. The ground plan in each case is starlike, which is most likely necessitated by the cult practised in these shrines. The *saktis* of the Siva-*lingas* enshrined in them are also starlike and these shapes indicate that both the temples and deities were made in the form of *mandalas* or mystic figures, with the help of which the Tantrikas wanted to attain their *siddhis*. Barring these peculiarities in their planning these three temples are otherwise linked up with the Muktesvara in respect of other features. All these monuments add the Muktesvara possess in common the same sub-divisions at the base, such as *pada*, *kumbha*, *pata*, *kani* and *vasanta* with a leaf design in the *kumbha* linked up with a chaitya arch above; the same form of rounded corners and the same kind of sunken panel marking the transaction between the *Vimana* and *sikhara*.

We also find in them they same forms of the nine, not eight planets, in which Rahu has been represented by a head, but not by a half-bust figure; the same types of door-keepers, *alasa-kanya*, *kirtti-mukhas*, Chaitya arches, the dwarfs with uplifted hands as if supporting the *sikhara*, and the same form of pouncing lions with riders. What is however most significant is the fact that certain forms of decorations which are peculiar to the Muktesvara alone and not to be found in other Bhubaneswar temples, except one or two that are its close contemporaries, are also to be found in these Baudh monuments. These decorations consist of a peculiar type of interlacing scrolls that occurs in its *sikhara* and the pitchers (*kumbhas*) carved in *alto relievo* in its *Vimana*. A large Chaitya arch flanked by the two Saivite images holding a chain with a bell at the end dropped into a lotus medallion,which, in the Bhubaneswar temples, occurs for the first time on the Muktesvara and then on the later temples with an imperfect knowledge of its characters, is also to be found on the facades of the Baudh temples, though in a badly mutilated condition. The decorations in the *sikhara* of the Muktesvara partly consist of a female figure opening a door with a parrot sitting at the top which has been repeated in several panels, and of the miniature images of Lakulisa in various *mudras*. These images, too occur in the Baudh monuments in the same forms. The similarity in the major aspects of art and architecture of the Baudh temples and the Muktesvara suggests that the former belong to the Somavamsi period, but they might have been erected by the Bhanja rulers who were in the occupation of the territory.

The Rajarani Temple of Bhubaneswar : The names of all the Saiva temples at Bhubaneswar end with *isvara* e.g. Parasuramesvara, Barhmesvara Mitresvara, Yamesvara, Tribhuvanesvar, etc. and the names of the non-Saiva temples have been derived from their presiding deities, e.g. Gauri temple, Parvati temple, Mohini temple and Ananta-Vasudeva temple etc. But the temple under review alone bears a peculiar name, for explaining the origin of which some fantastic stories have been invented by the local people. The mystery about this most beautiful and magnificant edifice has been enhanced by the fact that at present it contains no deity in the cella. Mr. M. M. Ganguly rightly rejects a story which represents it as a pleasure resorts of an Orissan king (*raja*) and his queen (*rani*), for, had it been so, it should have been provided with outhouses and stables etc. But both in art and architecture, the Rajarani possess all the elements of a temple structure, viz, a *Jagamohana*, side niches, the *dikpalas*, and the Navagraha slabs both on the *Jagamohana*

and the *Vimana*. Mr. Ganguly is probably right in thinking that the present name Rajarani has been derived from a "very fine-grained yellowish sandstone called Rajarani in common parlance" with which the entire edifice has been built. We cannot, however, accept his view that it was a Vaisnava temple. There is a mass of evidence on the body of the temple itself, which has escaped his notice, and which thoroughly repudiates such a view. We shall presently show that the original name of the temple was Indresvara and that it was a Saiva shrine.

Although the Rajarani temple has been one of the notable monuments of the place, such a name does not occur in any of the four Sanskrit texts that profess to deal with the history of Bhubaneswar from the orthodox standpoint. In the list of the temples given by each of these works, a temple known as Indresvara has been placed to the east of the Siddhesvara, situated in the compound of the Muktesvara. The twenty-fourth chapter of the *Ekamra Purana* fixes the position of the Indresvara to the east of Siddheswara and indicates the close proximity of the former with the latter by the word *adurena* (not far). Of all the temples, the beauty of this temple has also been most lavishly praised. The ninth chapter of the *Svarnnadri-mahodaya* places the temple of Chakresvara to the east of the Siddhesvara and then speaks of the Indresvara. Even now there is a small temple known as Chakresvara standing in the paddy-fields in between the Siddhesvara and the Rajarani. In the fourteenth chapter of the *Ekamra-Chandrika*, after the Siddhesvara and the Muktesvara, mention has been made of the Sakresvara which is no doubt a synonym of the Indresvara. Like the other works, the fifteenth chapter of the *Kapilasamhita* places the Indresvara to the east of the Siddhesvara and gives the distance between the two as seventy cows. In all these works the distancs between the shrines have been recorded in the number of cows (*dhenvantaras*). According to them to the distances between the Lingaraja on one hand and the Brahmesvara, Kapilesvara and Ramesvara on the other are respectively 1,130, 1,016 and 970 cows. Since all these temples are situated about a mile or a little more than a mile from the Lingaraja temple, a distance of seventy cows as given between the Siddhesvara and the Indresvara conforms to that between the Siddhesvara and the Rajarani. There appears to be no doubt, hence, that the temple of Rajarani bore the name of the Indresvara at least up to the time when these works were compiled and that its present name has probably been derived from the name of the sandstone used in it.

Mr. M. M. Ganguly observes : "On examining the *Khura pristha*, or upper plinth carved as it is with the petals of lotus, it appears that the temple was meant for being dedicated to Visnu." This feature in itself is really no weighty evidence to connect the temple of Rajarani with a Vaisnava shrine. As Prof. R. D. Banerjee has pointed out, such lotus petals are found carved in the Hindu and even the Jaina temples of the South Mahratra country. There are certain features in the temple, which have escaped the notice of the earlier scholars, out which undisputably prove that Saivite origin of the monument. In the usual positions of the door jambs of the *Jagamohana* occur the Saiva door-keepers, Chanda and Prachanda, which are close prototypes of the similar door-keepers of the later temples, particularly of the Meghesvara and the Brahmesvara. The *dvarapala* carved on the right jamb stands, holding in the right hand a long trident stuck to the ground and allowing the left to hang down freely. It wears *Jata-mukuta*, a garland of skulls reaching to the thighs and a snake that issues forth from the right ear. The face is damaged, but it was probably bearded like that of the *dvarapala* in the Meghesvara temple. The door-keeper on the left jamb also holds a similar long trident and has *jata-mukuta* and a snake issuing forth from the ear. These door-keepers are characteristically Saivite and cannot be expected to be present on the door of a Vaisnava temple. Besides, on the lintel of the *Jagamohana* occurs an image of Lakulisa seated in *yoga-mudra*, holding a *lakuta* and has four disciples on the side panels. The disciples here, as in the Meghesvara temple, have been represented as emaciated and bearded figures and have their right hands raised in *abhaya-mudra*: only two of them are seated on lotuses. On both sides of the Lakuli image, the lintel was carved with eight bearded and emaciated ascetics kneeling side by side in a row with fan-shaped *jata-bharas* on their heads and carrying on their backs the pots hung from their shoulders. The right half of the row with four ascetics is in the complete form but on the left, the lintel has broken off and has been replaced by a plain stone. These ascetics are no doubt the Pasupata teachers, occurring as they do in association with Lakuli and his disciples.

These sculptures alone repudiate the theory that the Rajarani was ever a Vaisnava temple, but there are also other Saiva sculptures on the body of the main temple. The side niches have been robbed of their images, but at the bases of the southern and northern niches have been carved the scenes of Linga-worship. Besides, the main temple also contains on its facades three panesls which show Siva and his female

counterpart dancing in the company of attendants holding musical instruments. In a rectangular shallow niche nearet to the *Jagamohana* on the south, occurs a beautiful image of Parvati holding in the upper left hand, a club. In the lower left hand, she holds a lotus with stalk, which rising from the pedestal passes through the left arms of the deity. This conventional form of Parvati which the priests of Bhubaneswar call Nisa-Parvati has, as rule, been enshrined in the norther niches of all the later Saiva temples, including the Lingaraja. A scene probably representing a simple form of Siva's marriage, also occurs on the western side below the central niche. Siva sits here wearing the crown of a bridegroom and leaning against a pillow, while Parvati standing in front of him, extends her hand which is caught by Siva's right hand. Two attendants, one holding a fly-whisk and the other a *vina* appear in the scene. The elaborate scenes of Siva's marriage also occur on the earlier temples, but the simple types of Siva's marriage, like the one under discussion, are not uncommon in the Indian sculptures. Mr. T. A. Gopinatha Rao gives some illustrations of Siva's marriage called *Kalyana-sundara-murtis,* in which the marriage has been indicated by the joining of the hands of Siva and Parvati. It is interesting to note here that Siva here greatly resembles the Siva of an elaborately carved panel on the southern door of the *Jagamohana* of the Lingaraja temple, representing his marriage to Parvati.

These sculptures coupled with the fact that the temple has been described as Indresvara in the local Sanskrit works, leave little room for doubt that it was a Saiva shrine. There should also be no doubt that it originally contained a deity, because the temple finds mention in the lists of the temples given in the orthodox texts intended as the pilgrims' guide. An unconsecrated temple without a deity is not likely to find mention in the sacred literature. The exigency of removing the presiding deity probably arose when the *Jagamohana* collapsed, blocking the way to the cella of the main temple. As is apparent from Arnott's Report, the *Jagamohana* had become a heap of ruins when it was repaired in 1903.

Eight guardian deities appear in their places on the body of the main temple, but they are in no way different from their prototypes in the temples of Brahmesvara and the Meghesvara, except that the image of Kubera which has on its pedestal *kalpavriksa* (Wishfulfilling tree) with eight pots attached to it, perhaps reprsenting *ashta-nidhis.* Consistently with the magnificent wealth of sculptures

which the temple possesses, these guardian deities have been the most glamorous and successful group to be found on any temple of Bhubaneswar. The *Jagamohana* is entirely plain, but there are signs to show that carvings had begun at some points, particularly near the balustraded windows. As in the *Jagamohana* of the Meghesvara, on both sides of the door, there are two columns with a Naga and Nagi at their tops holding garlands in their hands. The absence of carvings on the *Jagamohana* does not indicate that the temple was neither completed nor consecrated, because, the temples of which the *Jagamohanas* have remained uncarved, but in which worship is still going on, are not rare at Bhubaneswar. The notable examples are the Vaital and Mohini temples.

Both Prof. R. D. Banerjee and Mr. M. M. Ganguly have taken the Rajarani to be an exotic temple, because of the fact that the *angasikharas* (the miniature *sikharas* on the body of the main tower) appear on its body as sharp projections, but not as part of the wall surface as in the Lingaraja and the Brahmesvara. In the absence of any definite evidence, these features should not however be traced to an extraneous source, but should rather be considered as a logical evolution of a process that had begun long ago. We have seen that on the corner pilasters of the earlier temples, *bhumi-amalakas* occur at regular intervals and we have also seen that *anga-sikharas* occur on the bodies of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja as part of the wall surface. These architectural features were elaborated in the projecting turrets that we find on the Rajarani. The Rajarani is not however, the only temple at Bhubaneswar to bear these miniature *sikharas* as sharp projections. There are several other temples bearing the same features. Of these mention should separately be made of the Dakra Bhimesvara situated on the road to Puri within a short distance of the eastern gate of the Lingaraja, which bears the same features almost in the same forms. The temple of Kotitirthesvara also bears them on the *gandi*, though in somewhat modified form. These turrets had the effect of breaking up the graceful contours of the *gandi* and were moreover easily liable to breakage or cracks. So they seem to have been considered architecturally unsound, and discontinued after an experiment on only a few examples. Bereft of the projecting miniature *sikharas*, the Rajarani is otherwise a *pancharatha* temple with the usual elements peculiar to the type. The *Jagamohana* likewise follows the traditional style of a *pidha* temple, but the usual crowning members are absent from it. Its summit is similar to that of the *Jagamohana* of the Muktesvara. As we have

already shown at the time of repairs, it had become a heap of ruins, and it is now difficult to say whether it had originally the usual crowning members. No exotic influence is to be found on the vast wealth of beautiful sculptures of the Rajarani, which possess close affinities with the similar decorations of several other temples. It is difficult to determine the date of this famous temple, but it seems most likely that its chronological position lies between the Muktesvara and the Brahmesvara (c A. D. 1060).

The Panchayatana Visnu Temple of Jalauka : It stands in the village of Jalauka about three miles from Chhatia in the Cuttack district. The present writer hurriedly visited it more than twenty-five years ago and carried the impression that the temple, as its art and architecture indicate, belongs to the Somavamsi period. The four small *sikhara* temples standing on the four directions of the main shrine are now utterly ruined, but the main temple is still in a comparatively good state of preservation. The temple complex is similar to the Brahmesvara which too has four smaller temples on its four sides, but in the scheme of decoration it shows greater affinities with the Muktesvara. The temple contains a wealth of sculpture which still remains unstudied.

The next stage in the development of the temple architecture is provided by the Kedaresvara, Siddhesvara, Ramesvara and Alavukesvara of Bhubaneswar. They all seem to be earlier than the Brahmesvara. They are mostly devoid of sculptures except the *parsva-devatas* which are mostly missing and the *alasa-kanyas* which too have been mostly pilferred.

The Brahmesvara : The next dated temple, Brahmesvara (c. A.D. 1060), shows mature workmanship and advanced architectural features. Here the canons of Orissan architecture as explained by Mr. M. M, Ganguly and Mr. N. K. Bose, are found to have been fully applied. Among the dated temples it is the earliest one where iron beams have been used, and where the proch or the *Jagamohana* consists of the full-fledged *pidha deul* with the usual crowning members The ceiling of the *Jagamohana* contains sculptures in several tiers ending with a lotus at the centre, a feature which is shared by only one more temple at Bhubaneswar, viz. Muktesvara. The Brahmesvara is a *pancha-ratha* temple with five pilasters, namely two corner pilasters, two intermediate ones and one central one, fully developed, which give the structure almost a rounded appearance, unlike the earlier temples which are somewhat square in appearance. The pilasters alternate with deep

teceses containing *gaja-simhas*, which has become a definite feature in all important later temples, but which is conspicuous by its absence in all earlier ones. Both the *Jagamohana* and the temple rise abruptly from the ground level without a plinth or a platform, but the basement of the main temple shows the usual structural divisions such as *pada*, *kumbha*, *pata*, *kani* and *vasanta* which are to be noticed in the later temples. The five conventional divisions namely the *jangha*, *varandi*, *vandhana*, upper *varandi* and upper *jangha* are also to be noticed in the cubical portion.

Both on the cubical and curvilinear portions of the main structure, we find for the first time the miniature replicas of both the *pidha* and the *sikhara* temples, some half-finished and others fully carved, but all forming part of the wall surface and subdued with the scheme of the linear ascent of the tower. As we have already noticed, the miniature *sikharas* do not occur on the earlier temples, dated or undated, but the half-*amalakas* appearing at regular intervals at the corners provide a semblance and mark a rudimentary beginning of these miniature replicas. In no other example except in the Brahmesvara, the miniature replicas of the *pidha* temples appear as decorations. The chaitya arches continued to be the decorative motif but in much stylised forms, The Bhauma technique of making the side deities (*parsva-devatas*) in sections was not followed in this temple but the main side deities Ganesa, Kartikeya and Durga were carved out of single blocks of stone and put in the niches made in the central pilasters as we find in the Parasuramesvara and other temples. This unwary process of enshrining side deites has resulted in the removal of all the three images probably by the antiquity collectors.

The *Pidha* temple that serves as the porch is full-fledged in every sense of the term, unlike its prototypes in the Muktesvara and Rajarani, which lack crowning members. As is usual with a *pidha* temple, the roof of the *Jagamohana* shows undeocorated *pidhas* or steps diminishing as they ascend and crowned by a huge *amalaka*, but the lowermost step contains reliefs showing battle scenes and various animal figures. The *vadas* (walls) divide themselves into five pilasters each and contain *gaja-simhas* in the recesses and half-finished miniature *pidha* temples and stylised chaitya arches as decoration. Besides a door in the east, the *Jagamohana* also possesses to balustraded windows with female figures carved on the outer faces of the balustrades. The temple complex is a *ponchayatana* one and has four smaller shrines on four sides

besides the main one. A commemorative inscription originally attached to the temple furnishes the evidence that Kolavati Devi, mother of Uddyota Kesari, built it in the eighteenth regnal year of her son.

The Lingaraj : The temple of Lingaraja is by far the most notable temple not only of Bhubaneswar, but also of Orissa, and according to expert opinions is also one of the best archaeological monuments of the East. Rising to a height of about one hundred and eighty feet and dominating the entire landscape within an area of about ten miles, this great temple represents the quintessence of the Kalinga type of architecture and the culminating result of the architectural activities at Bhubaneswar. It stands in the midst of a number of smaller temples within a spacious compound of laterite measuring five hundred and twenty feet in length and four hundred and sixty five in breadth and having gates on the east, north and south. So much has been said about its architecttural features that very little remains to be said. Prof. R. D. Banerji records from his personal observation that the sanctuary is a hollow pyramid composed of several superimposed chambers, the access to which is obtained by a staircase built through the thickness of the wall. This new technique was perhaps necessitated on account of the extreme height of the tower which could not be sustained by a single roof as in the smaller temples. Barring this peculiarity, the sanctuary is otherwise a *pancha-ratha deul* having close architectural affinities with the Brahmesvara temple. We have already noticed the special features connected with its plinth, *angasikharas* and walls while comparing it with the Kandarya temple at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand.

Like the Ananta-Vasudeva temple, it has a three-chambered frontal component consisting of the *Jagamohana*, *Natamandira* and *Bhogamanadapa*. There are clear evidences at the point of juncture that may indicate that the *Jagamohana* was a later addition; but since both the structures are built of the same type of sandstone and have sculptures representing the same liner of artistic tradition, it can safely be concluded that the sanctuary and the *Jagamohana* formed parts of the same original scheme especially as these two components formed at the time the temple complex proper. The next two structures, namely the *Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa* are, however, much later than both the sanctuary and the *Jogamohana* because they are built of an altogether different type of sandstone and because their sculptures bear the obvious signs of the artistic development and peculiarities of a later period. The

roof and the crowning members of the *Jagamohana* are similar to those of the *Jagamohana* of the Brahmesvara and like the latter it had also balustraded windows in the north and the south, which have now been blocked up Both the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa* are open halls and the former has a flat roof.

in their attributes and distinctive treatment, the cult images on the Lingaraja are similar to those of the Brahmesvara. The *dikpals* with their distinctive mounts and attributes appear in their respective positions, but only on the temple walls and not on the *Jagamohana* as in the Brahmesvara. The images of Ganesa, Kartikeya and Parvati appear respectively in the southern, western and northern niches of the sanctuary, which, with the smaller structures built in front of them, have been converted into subsidiary shrines. These smaller structures betraying a lack of artistic taste and obscuring the sculptures in the basement of the sanctuary, are certainly later additions and could not have been designed by the builders of this magnificent monument. The life-size images of *parsva-devatas* are all chlorite which must have been imported from a distant place and which were used to ensure greater permanence and to bring out finer details of artistic designs. Except the figure of Ganesa, these marvellous images have been sadly mutilated, but nevertheless, even in their mutilated condition, they cannot fail to arouse admiration from any discerning observer. Fine scroll work that must have entailed months of labour for incision decorate the garments of the deities. The magnificent backgrounds against which these deities appear, indicate a supreme artistic taste and the zenith of the decorative art of the period.

Among the other cult images, mention may be made of an image of Kartikeya that occupies the medallion enclosed by the largest chaitya arch in the east. He is shown here in the earlier form riding a peacock to front and holding *sakti* in the left hand. An image of Mahisamardini is to be found in the southern facade of the *Jagamohana*. The main feature to be noticed in this representation is that the victim is not a buffalo-headed demon but a buffalo, from the decapitated trunk of which a male figure is shown as issuing forth. The only image of Lakulisa that appears on the front facade of the sanctuary has been blocked from view by the ascending tiers of the roof in the *Jagamohana*. Lakuli is accompained by four figures, two on each side.

The three distinct episodes are to be found on the walls of the sanctuary and of the *Jagamohana*. One of them is an elaborate scene of

Siva's marriage to be found on the southern door of the *Jagamohana*, Siva wearing the crown of a bridegroom, but none-the-less appearing perfectly naked, is found in the centre of the scene sitting in front of a man with matted hair, who may be identified with Bhrikuti. Parvati is being led to Agni which is represented as a human figure with flames rising on all sides and by the side of which Brahma is to be found. There are also other gods riding on their respective mounts. The scene has been disfigured by the application of modern paint to the images, perhaps in recent times. The second episode to be found on the southern facade of the sanctuary is that of Yasoda churning curds and the child Sri-Krishna disturbing her. The images of Nanda, Yasoda and Sri-Krishna are in a good state of preservation and they form an attractive panel. It has been noticed by Mr R Chanda and Prof. R D. Banerjee. The third episode representing a simple form of Siva's marriage on the western side of the *Vimana* has also been noticed by them.

According to the local tradition the Lingaraja temple was built by Yayati Kesari who may be identified with Yayati II (c. 1025-1040 A.D) of the Somavamsi dynasty

The correlation between the Brahmesvara and Lingaraja is to be noticed in the fully developed *pidha* temples which appear as their porches; in the appearance of similar types of *gaja-simhas* and *vyalis* in the recesses between their well-formed pilasters; in the projecting figures of *gasaj-simha* in the *raha-pagas* of the *sikharas*; in the single niches of the *vadas*, enshrining deities carved out of single blocks of stone; in the division of the *janghas* into two sections, upper and lower, by a course of mouldings known as *bandhana*: in the *anga• sikharas* in vertical rows in the *anuraha-pagas*; in the Navagraha architraves with the figures of planets exhibiting the same type and form; in the images of such deities as Kartikeya and Ganesa, each in an identical form; in the representations of the *Dikpalas*, each with the same mounts and same attributes, in eight directions of their *Vimanas* and *Jagamohanas*; in the identical types of the decorative female figures; in the remarkable similarity to be found in the other decorative motifs; and finally in the almost identical slopes presented by the *sikharas*. Moreover, both the temples are characterized by the absence of the plinths or raised platforms. These distinct affinities make the two cognates of each other Again, there are certain motifs, not to be noticed in any other temple of Bhubaneswar, which indicate also that they were close contemporaries of each other. The identities in the details of representation and the execution of these mutifs ware, in all

probability, due to their being produced by the same artist, or by artists reared in an identical tradition. Reference may be made in this connexion to a panel containing the figures of Nanda, Yasoda and the child Sri-Krishna, already noticed above, that appear on the southern facade of the *Vimana* of the Lingaraja, and another in almost the same form on a facade of the small temple at the north-east corner of the Brahmesvara. According to the Brahmesvara inscription, this is one of the four subsidiary structures built along with the main temple with which it was certainly contemporary. In both the panels, Nanda is a bearded figure sitting opposite Yasoda who is engaged in churning curds, and the child Sri-Krishna is shown by the side of the vessel containing curds. One royal figure that appears in both the temples appears to be similar in form. In the Lingaraja he is found engaged in reading a copper plate and in the Brahmesvara, he appears as a warrior, but in both his royalty is indicated by the two parasols held over the head. This royal figure may in all probability, represent Uddyota Kesari or his father Yayati II *alias* Chandihara.

The Suresvara and Gauri Temples : There are two other temples at Bhubaneswar, which may be regard as close contemporaries of the Muktesvara. One of them is the Suresvara, a very small structure which stands near the Kotitirthesvara temple in the close neighbourhood of the Svarnajalesvara and the other is the Gauri temple situated in the compound of the Kedaresvara. These two temples have in common with the Muktesvara, the plinths of raised platforms on which they stand, the same types of *alasa-kanyas* scrolls, the dwarfs with uplifted hands, pitchers (*kumbhas*)carved in *alto-relievo* in the *Vimanas* and the large chaitya arches flanked by bearded figures holding a long chain. The temple of Suresvara has on the front facade a Nataraja which is an exact prototype of those to be found in the Muktesvara. Its *sikhara* is wholly undecorated, but the *Vimana* has decorations which are almost identical with those of the Muktesvara. The small Gauri temple is of the *Khakhara* type which is akin to the Vaital temple in its architecture, and thus represents a different architectural conception. When the late M. M. Ganguly wrote his book *Orissa and her Remains* in 1916, the front part of it was in ruins. It has since then been repaired and carved, but the modern carvings become sharply distinguished from the original ones in spite of the attempts of the sculptors to bring about a uniformity in them.

There are several ruined temples at Bhubaneswar and in the Prachi valley of the Puri district and at Ranipur Jharial in the Bolangir

district which may belong to this period. The last named place was in the original seat of Somavamsi power and still contains a number of temples which will be noticed later.

Monuments of the Ganga Period (c.A.D. 1110–1435)

One peculiarity of the Ganga temples which may be regarded as an advance on the designs of the former monuments, is the *sapta-ratha* plan recognized to be a characteristic feature of all the notable monuments of the period. The direction in the development of the design of the temple is supplied by the increase in the number of projections on each face of the temple. The earliest monuments, now extent, show one such projection in the middle of each face,. and each face is thus divided into three surfaces (*tri-rathas*). This *tri-ratha* plan develops into the *pancha-ratha* by two such projections and the Somavamsi monuments exhibit this plan in its complete form. The next stage is apparently the *sapta-ratha* plan which, however, does not come into view, so far as the extant monuments are concerned before the Ganga period. The Meghesvara, the earliest of the Ganga temples at Bhubaneswar shows the beginnings of a *sapta-ratha* plan, conspicuous by its absence in the preceding periods, and as time passed on, this plan came to be the established rule with the Ganga monuments. The accumulated experiences of the past in the temple building were utilized to co-ordinate skilfully this elaborate design, horizontally as well as vertically, to build strong and compact edifices. But the builders of this period like the earlier builders could not select the right types of stone, a fact that, more than their age, has been responsible for the comparatively greater wear and tear. The evolution of the three-chambered frontal adjunct is to be traced to this period. We have seen that in the early groups of temples, the frontal porch consisted of a single rectangular low *mandapa* with a clerestoried flat roof; in the Muktesvara it was something of a *pidha*; and in the Brahmesvara full-fledged *pidha* temple came into view. In the Ganga period, in all the important structures, the frontal adjunct consisted of three chambers known as the *Jagamohana* (audience hall), the *Natamandira* (dancing hall) and the *Bhogamandapa* (offering hall).

The important Lingaraja that originally possessed a single chamber as its porch, was furnished with two more, apparently during the Ganga period. Again the side niches on the sanctum walls were converted into the miniature shrines with subsidiary structures in front

of them, that varied in shape from miniature temples to highstepped platforms. These additional side structures, besides being subsidiary shrines, also served as propylons to strengthen the central structures, namely the *Vimanas*. The temples of Jagannatha, Konarka and Ananta-Vasudeva that definitely belong to this period bear this architectural feature, also shared by the smaller examples like the Yamesvara and the Chitresvara. It is true that the temple of Lingaraja built during the Somavamsi period also possesses these side structures, but there are evident signs in them that they were later additions, possibly of the Ganga period. The temple architecture of the period shows signs of maturity and development in other features also. The so-called corbelled arch is to be found not only in the door-ways of the *Vimanas* of the Ganga monuments, but also above each doorway of their porches. Evidently the builders understood its utility more than their predecessors. Tha iron beams which begun to be used in the preceding period, now came to be used regularly. Because of the increase of projections and their further subdivisions, the temple structures became more diversified, solid and compact and very often circular in appearance around the perimetre. Another new feature introduced is the *vahana-stambha* set up in front of the shrines, which did not exist in any of the earlier temples. The stump of the pillar to be found in front of the Vaital temple is, as we have already noted, a remnant of a *yupa* or a sacrificial post, but not a *vahana-stambha*. These pillars in many temples have disappeared, but they are still to be traced in the temples of Konarka, Jagannatha, Lingaraja, Meghesvara, Ananta-Vasudeva and Yamesvara, all of which except the Lingaraja, belong to the Ganga period. Since the *Natamandira* and *Bhogamandapa* of the Lingaraja temple were built during the Ganga period, it is legitimate to infer that the *vahana-stambha*, set up in front the whole temple, was also an addition of that period. This pillar contains at its top not only an image of Nandi, but also an image of Garuda, indicating a synthesis of Saivism and Vaisnavism which, as we have already shown, was attempted in the Ganga epoch. Another well-marked characteristic of the Ganga monuments is noticed in the basement plinth, conspicuously absent in the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja, the two notable temples of the Somavamsi period. Further, in some of the notable monuments, the temple complex rests on a terraced platform, which may also be recognized as one of the characteristic feature of the temples of the Ganga period.

Besides these architectural features the Ganga temples also bear several distinctive features in their sculptures. Some of the cult images

like Ganesa and Kartikeya appear in their last evolutionary forms. In the Navagraha slabs Rahu appears as holding half-moons in his hands and Ketu as holding a sword and a shield or only a sword. Sometimes both Brihaspati and Sukra appear as the bearded figures In the monuments built during the middle and last parts of the period, not only the *dikpalas*, but also their female counterparts make their appearance. The chaitya arches so profusely used as the decorative motifs in the earlier temples, become scarce and highly stylized during the period under review. The decoration of the walls was taken up by scrolls, usually in the form of creepers, with full or half-medallions enclosing leaf-designs and animal-figurines such as deer, bears, elephants, horses and swans. Among other favourite motifs on the temple walls, sunken diamond-shaped designs and beads shown in relief have become most prominent. The minute designs and figurines have been carved and cut in stone with such consummate skill that they create almost an illusion of wood or ivory carvings. The restraint in the decorations, to be noticed in the Somavamsi monuments, is no longer a feature in the Ganga temples; on the contrary in the important structures all available spaces in the walls, in the pilasters and the basements, have been occupied by the decorations, indicating a love for pictorial art which is found in its extreme form in the great temple of Konarka. The large chaitya arches flanked by human figures continued to be a feature in some monuments, but the Ganga builders copied them from the earlier temples without understanding their creed or character. We have seen that in the Muktesvara where the design occurs for the first time, the flanking human figures with the hoods of snakes on their heads are distinctly Saivite in character. In the Ganga period their Saivite character was scarcely understood, as is proved by the fáct that this design has also been carved in the Vaisnava temple of Ananta-Vasudeva.

With the help of these guiding features in art and architecture, it is possible to enumerate the temples which, in all likelihood, were built during the Ganga period. A list of the important monuments with a short description of each is given below :

The Temple of Jagannatha at Puri : It is the earliest Ganga monument of Orissa, but it must be noted that the Ganga temples of much earliear date are still to be traced in the Andhra regions, the original seat of power of the Gangas. There is a definite mention in almost all the later copperplate records of the successors of Chodaganga

that he was the builder of this great temple at Puri. But as already observed, a tradition recorded in the *Madalapanji* avers that one of his successors Anangabhimadeva III built this monument. To reconcile the epigraphic evidence with tradition we may perhaps conclude that Chodaganga had began this huge structure and one of his successors Anangabhimadeva III completed it or added the *Jagamohana* to it. We may also agree with Dr. D.C. Sircar that Anangabhimadeva III constructed a Jagannatha temple in the Ganga capital Kataka (Cuttack) and not the present great Jagannatha temple at Puri. The evidences furnished by the Muslim sources, already discussed, shows that Firuz Shah raged the Jagannatha temple to the ground, but in the present Jagannatha temple at Puri there is hardly and evidence to show that it was demolished at any time by any invader. So it seems that Firuz Shah demolished the Jagannatha shrine at Cuttack, but not the same shrine at Puri which still stands in tact. The height of the Jagannatha temple at Puri as calculated by Mr. M. M. Ganguly is 215'-8". It is therefore the loftiest religious edifice of Orissa, though the temple of Konarka seems to have had a greater height.

At present a thick coat of plaster covers the whole of the main temple and prevents an investigator from studying its architectural and sculptural features It is a *pancha-ratha* temple analogous to the Lingaraja, but it cannot now be ascertained whether, as in the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva at Bhubaneswar, it has a row of narrow and undeveloped pilasters in between the main ones. The temple has on three sides the miniature temples enshrining *prasva-devatas* which also serve as the propylons of the main structure. The *sikhara* has the usual divisions and subdivisions as are usually found in all temples of this period. It has a three-chambered porch consisting of the *Jagamohana*, the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa*. The sculptures of the last two structures clearly indicate that they were later additions. According to traditions these two structures were built by Kapilendradeve. A comparative study of the sculptures of the Ganga period and the Suryavamsi period confirms the evidence of ttaditions As is usual in all great temples of the period, the monument stands on a high platform which is connected with the ground level by a flight of twenty two steps. The edifice is massive and strong and is a product of the accumulated experience of the past in temple architecture and this factor has enabled it to withstand the ravages of the time. An immense variety of sculptures that decorate the temple cannot be studied so long the plaster is not removed.

The Laksmi temple inside the Jagannatha compound standing with a three-chambered porch seems to be a contemporary of the main temple. From the beginning of the Ganga rule in Orissa it became customary to build a smaller temple in the compound of all important shrines for the female counterparts of the main deities. By the time the Jagannatha temple was built, Jagannatha had been conceived as Visnu and therefore, the construction of smaller temple for his consort Laksmi seems to have been warranted by the time-honoured custom.

The ..eghesvara of Bhubaneswar : The temple of Meghesvara had a commemorative inscription originally attached to it, which is now fixed to the western compound wall of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple. The epigraph discloses that the temple of Megesvara was built by Svapnesvaradeva, son of Ahirana and grandson of Muladeva. Svapnesvaradeva was the commander-in-chief of the Ganga army and he seems to have served in that capacity under two Ganga kings, Rajarajadeva II and Anangabhimadeva II. It is stated in the epigraph that Surama, the sister of Svapnesvaradeva, was married to Rajaraja II, the son and successor of Chodagangadeva. Rajaraja II is known to have ruled from A. D. 1170-1190, but since Svapnesvara also served under Anangabhima II (A.D. 1190—1198), the successor of Rajaraja II, there is also the possibility of his having built the temple in the reign of Anangabhima. The date of the erection of the Meghesvara temple cannot be accurately fixed, but it can safely be assigned to the closing years of the twelfth century.

The Meghesvara temple is an important structre in the history of the evolution of the temple architecture in Orissa. It has been provided with a plinth or platform and has seven pilasters fully formed, which make the structure almost a round one around its perimetre. Due to an increase in the number of pilasters, little space has been left in the body of the temple and in consequence the recesses have been very narrow and not well-marked. The intermediate pilasters have a series of complete miniature *sikhards*, forming part of the walls, and repeated up to the top, but the corner pilasters have only half-*amalakas* which take the place of *anga-sikharas*. The *raha-paga* (The central pilaster) is plain and is with a projecting lion and a *kirttimukha* as its relieving features.

The *Jagamohana* which is a *pidha* temple, is wholly undecorated and is with a door and two balustraded windows. The present two *naga-stambhas* on both sides of the door has become a relieving feature

in this otherwise undecorated structure. In front of the door facing the west, there was a round *Vrisa-stambha* (a column with a bull-capital) of which only the base has survived and the bull-capital which was lying in the tank nearby, has been removed to the Orissa State Museum.

The sculptures of the Meghesvara temple (c. A. D. 1195) have suffered much from wear and tear on account of the fact that it is built of a soft and gritty variety of sandstone. Besides, it being situated in the furthest north-east corner of Bhubaneswar without human habitation in the near neighbourhood, the work of dispoliation has been carried on here almost unmolested. There are signs of deliberate breakages in the body of the temple which indicate that not only the *parsva-devatas*, but also many of the decorative female figures have been cut away. In the southern niche, the feet of Ganesa still remaining indicate that the other partions of its body have been forcibly removed. Nevertheless, the temple still retains some important cult images of iconographical interest. The guardian deities are to be found in their respective directions, but they do not possess any special features or attributes different from those of the same deities in the Brahmesvara temple. They have suffered so much from damage that their distinguishing peculiarities also cannot be correctly ascertained. Of the three *parsva-devatas* only Kartikeya is to be found in the eastern niche, but it is in no way different from the one in the Brahmesvara. The pedestal of Ganesa still remaining in the southern niche, contains a mouse.

Four of the images of this temple deserve special mention. Of these, the image of Lakuli to be found on the southern facade, is seated cross-legged with a *yoga-patta* tied to the knees with a *lakuta* placed on the left shoulder. Four bearded figures, two on each side, are found in association with the deity. The second represents the scene of *Godhana-harana* by Brahma. A multilated central figure in the scene is Sri-Krisna seated on a couch or stool with female figures, no doubt Gopis, on both sides, and with a herd of cows on the pedestal. A little bearded figure is to be found in the right top corner, witnessing the whole scene The bearded figure should be identified with Brahma. The third image to be found on the southern side represents perhaps a form of Durga. It holds in the upper right hand a *chakra*, in the lower right a club, in the upper left a *sankha* and in the lower left a long bow *saranga*). The figure on the pedestal is defaced, but it seems to be a lion. The attributes in the hands may tentatively lead to an identification of the deity with Vaisnavi, but the lion-mount is a distinct

cognizance which associates the deity with Durge who is also known to have such attributes as the above in one or other of her innumerable forms. The fourth figure is a six-handed Nataraja holding in the uppermost two hands a snake, in the middle two a trident and a *dambaru*, the lowermost two showing dance poses. Nandi is shown on the pedestal along with two human figures holding musical instruments. Various representations of Siva are also to be found in the *vadas*, but their characteristics are too damaged to be made out.

The Sun Temple at Konarka : The Sun Temple at Konarka, "the grandest achievement of the Eastern School of Architecture", is situated some twenty miles in a north-easterly direction from Puri. Grand in conception and great even in its ruin, the stupendous undertaking stands with its disfigured beauty in a desolate tract of ever-drifting sands. The Orissan devotional architecture which made an humble beginning in the rock-cut caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri in the second century B. C, had a history of fifteen hundred years when the temple at Konarka came into being. It is no wonder that the accumulated experience of the past were utilized to make the edifice a marvel of the temple architecture. In shape the temple however did not make any bold departure from other *sikhara* temples of Orissa. The *Vimana* or the main temple which enshrined the presiding deity has fallen off, but what remains at present enables us to reconstruct the whole. It was a *sikhara* or *rekha* temple like the temples of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar and Jagannatha at Puri and had a *Jagamohana* and a *Natamandira*. The *Jagamohana* is the only structure which has survived in complete form, but of the other two only small portions have come down to us. Some portions of the main temple have fallen off in recent times, because "When Stirling and Fergusson visited the temple in 1822 and 1837 respectively some part of the Rekha to the height of one hundred and twenty feet had been still existing." The *Natamandira* is situated to the east of the *Jagamohana* and there is an intervening space of thirty feet between the two structures. Numerous figures holding musical instruments have been carved on the former which indicate that it was a dancing hall and not a *Bhogamandapa* as some scholars are inclined to take it to be.

As is usual with all important Ganga temples, both the *Vimana* and *Jagamohana* stood on a high plinth constructed in two tiers up to a height of fifteen feet and six inches. Of the *Vimana* (the main temple), nothing has now been left except a small portion above the plinth and the *garbha-griha* or cella, a perfect square in shape, with a beautifully

carved pedestal without the presiding deity which is missing. The doorway of the structure which was to the east, has been blocked up giving the cella the appearance of a well. As a vistor stands facing the east, his attention is drawn to a step-like masonary which was a socalled corbelled arch usually found above the door way of a temple and was meant to reduce weight on the lintel.

The hieght of the *Vimana* is now matter for calculations. If the temple strictly followed the proportions to be found in the existing prototypes in Orissa, its height, as calculated by Mr. M.M. Ganguly, would have been as follows ;

The existing height of the lower plinth is	13'-2"
The existing height of the upper plinth is	2'-4"
The existing height of the *Jangha* is	13'-6"

According to the proportions found in other temples, the height of the *Bada* is the height of the *Jangha* multiplied by 13/3.

Therefore the height of the *Bada* of Konarka was 13½' by 13/3 i. e. 58'-6".

According to the proportions found in other temples the *Rekha* portion is twice as high as the *Bada*. Therefore the height of the *Rekha* of Konarka was 58½' by 2 i. e., 117'. Worked on these proportions the height of the crowning members i.e., *Amla* and *Kalasa* etc. would have been 20 *kathis* i.e. 36'.

Therefore, the total height of the temple was 227 feet. It may be noted that the *Jangha* is really a part of the *Bada* and so its height has not been included in the above calculations. The calculated height of the main temple will not appear inconsistent or great in view of the fact that the height of the present temple of Jagannatha at Puri is 214'-7".

The joint structures of the *Vimana* and *Jagamohana* were conceived in the form of a *Ratha* or wheeled car, and have therefore been based on an immense terrace with 24 giant wheels, being as it were dragged on by seven richly caparisoned steed, the remains of which still exist on both sides of the eastern doorway. The *Jagamohana* had three doors, each with a flight of steps for approach, but all of them have now been blocked up and the interior filled with sand In construction, it follows the same principles as are to be noticed in other

pidha temples of Orissa. Its *vada* or cubical portion with recessed chases supports the roof or super-structure that consists of three tiers diminishing as they ascend, and each opening out into a platform containing life-size statues mostly with musical instruments, which are altogether an innovation in this temple. The whole roof is a stepped pyramid, the first and second tiers having six steps or *pidhas* each and the topmost one only five. The apex of the pyramid is crowned by a huge *amalaka* or the fluted finial. The total height of the structure is "120'-8".

As already stated, there is an intervening space of thirty feet between the *Jagamohana* and *Natamandira* and there stood a beautiful sixteen-sided monolith of thirty-four feet height with an image of Aruna, the charioteer of the sun god, at the top, but it was removed to Puri in the eighteenth century by the Marhattas and has now been set up in the eastern gate of the Jagannatha temple, Of the *Natamandira* and also of, the temple of so-called Ramachandi situated to the south-east of the main temple, only small portions remain to tell the story of their grandeur. Evidences are there to show that there were other subsidiary structures contained within the spacious compound of 875' by 840', but nothing remains of them now to give us even an idea of their shape. There were probably porticos on the main gateways and to them probably belonged the colossal monolithic horses, richly caparisoned and there impetousity restrained by the armed dismounted riders and also the monolithic elephants trampling human beings under feet. These animals have been copied from nature and are the master-pieces of Orissan plastic art. These are, in the main, the structural remains of Konarka, in which "each part proclaims its correct architectural application and the whole is assembled in such a masterly manner that the result is an ordaisned and convincing uniformity."

Verse 86 of a copper plate inscription of the Ganga king Narasimha II, dated in the Saka year 1217 (1295 A. D.) states that "King Narasimha built at Konakona (a place of great renown) a temple for the Sun to live in with other gods," and this has also been repeated in the records of the subsequent Ganga rulers. King Narasimha of the verse in the context of the reference has been taken to be Narasimha I of the Eastern Ganga Dynasty, who, according to the chronology first worked out by Mr. M. M. Chakravarti, ruled in Orissa from 1238 A, D. to 1264 A. D. An inscription of Narasimha I, subsequently discovered on the

temple of Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar, however; takes the beginning of his reign to 1240 A.D. At any rate, that the present temple of the Sun at Konarka was built during the reign of Narasimha I admits of no doubt.

This is perhaps the only authentic fact known with certainty about the history of this great temple. All other facts spoken of its history by earlier writers have been based on local traditions of the *Madalapanji*, the palm-leaf chronicle of Jagannatha temple at Puri, the authenticity and the precise character of which, as already shown, are still a matter of controversy. The daily expenditure on the worship of the Sun god at Konarka has, for instance, been worked out in great details with a show of accuracy by some earlier writers on the basis of the figures said to have been supplied by the *Madalapanji*, though the published version of the *Panji* based on three different manuscripts or any other manuscript of the *Panji*, contains absolutely no reference to such figures. The contents of the *Panji*, as we have already shown, vary from manuscript to manuscript and person to person in whose custody they have so far been discovered, and thus lead us to one evident conclusion that many of the facts recorded in them are the products of imagination or the results of the wishful thinking. A Sanskrit verse of uncertain origin said to have been recorded in the *Panji*, is sometimes interpreted to yield the Saka year 1200 corresponding to 1278 A.D. which is taken to be the date of the erection of the temple by Langula Narasimha (Narasimha I). This date does not fall within the reign period of Narasimha I as ascertained from more reliable epigraphic records, nor the verse occurs in the *Madalapanji* in its published version. It should therefore be taken as a modern fabrication. It will thus appear that information callected about the histoty of the temple from the sources others than epigraphic, is of misleading character. But the information supplied by the epigraphic sources is also meagre and does not take us far. It proves that the temple was built during the reign of Narasimha I, but does not give even the exact date of its erection. There are however evidences to indicate that it could have been built only after his successful campaigns against Muslim Bengal. Narasimha I began his campaigns against Muslim Bengal in 1243 A D.

His victory over the Muslims of Bengal and his acquisition of the southern districts of Western Bengal must have enormously raised his prestige in the eyes of the contemporay Hindu rulers, and augmented

his resources, which in all likelihood enabled him to undertake the construction of a stupendous structure like the temple of Konarka, designed to exhibit his power, prestige, opulence, devotion and perhaps to commemorate his victory also. We shall not be far from the truth, if we put the beginnig of its construction between 1244 and 1247 A.D. According to tradition the temple took twelve years to be completed, which does not appear to be an unreasonable period assigned to the construction of such a huge structure with all its inimitable fine carvings. Narasimha therefore lived to see its completion and to incorporate his ideas in the construction and carvings of the temple. His memories of the war against the Muslims and his victory over them appear to have been symbolised in the monolithic animal sculptures, which were originally placed at the portals of the temple compound.

About these impressive sculptures Abul Fazl writes as follows :

"It (the temple of Konarka) has three portals. The eastern has carved upon it the figures of two finely designed elephants, each of them carrying a man upon his trunk. The western bears sculptures of two horsemen with trappings and ornaments and an attendant. The northern has two tigers, each of which is rampant upon an elephant that it has overpowered."

Abul Fazl himself did not see the temple, but based his account on the information furnished to him by local people, which has inevitably been inaccurate in several respects. The figures of the northern portal described by him as tigers, are in reality lions rampant on elephants (*gaja-simhas*), which are still extant at Konarka in their mutilated condition. The so-called horsemen with attendants were in reality two war horses, each with a dismounted rider by the side, which, removed from their original position, are at present to be seen in the compound. His description only of the animal figures of the eastern gate accords with the actual specimens which have come down to us. However, in one respect Abul Fazl's account is very valuable in as much as it indicates their original positions and thus helps us in assessing their special significance.

Of the six animal sculptures, the two war horse, because of their superb execution and significance, deserve our pointed attention. In spite of years of neglect, wear and tear caused by the actions of the elements to which they have remained exposed in the opén, Havell's classic eulogy of them still holds good :

"Had it by chance been labelled 'Roman' or 'Greek', this magnificent work of art would now be the pride of some great metropolitan museum in Europe and America. Here Indian sculptors have shown that they can express with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare: for not even the Homeric grandeur of the Elgin marbles surpasses the magnificent movement and modelling of the Indian Achilles, and the superbly monumental war-horse in its massive strength and vigour is not unworthy of comparison with Verochhio's famous master-piece in Venice."

Whom does this Indian Achilles, depicted in such magnificent movement and modelling, represent? Who is again the bearded figure, lying on the ground with an expression of surrender and supplication, on whom the superbly monumental war-horse with its massive strength and vigour has just put its hoof, but has been restrained by the dismounted rider with his sword drawn? Havell truly says that this sculpture expresses with as much fire and passion as the greatest European art the pride of victory and the glory of triumphant warfare, but neither he nor the subsequent writers have attempted to identify the particular pride of victory or the glory of triumphant warfare that it represents. We have, however, reasons to think that the dismounted rider is no other than Narasimha I, the bearded figure is most likely Izzuddin Tughral Tughan Khan, governor of Bengal, or any of his generals defeated by Narasimha in the battle field and the sculpture as a whole represents the pride of victory of the Orissan King.

These identifications are borne out by the logic of the known events of the Orissan History, which had preceded the erection of the temple and also by the deviations from the established conventions to be noticed in this particular temple in assigning position to war-horses in a temple complex. According to Abul Fazl's account cited above, these monolithic animal sculptures were at the western gate of the temple compound, but according to another view expressed by Pandit Krupasindhu Mishra, they were at the entrance of the *Jagamohana*. In any case, these monolithic images, each measuring ten feet in length, six feet in width and seven feet four inches in height, were not in any way the integral parts of the temple structure and were certainly intended to serve as free-standing guardian animals. But the war-horse as guardian animnl never occurs at the gate or the entrance of any of the numerous temples of Orissa, nor of India. The Konarka is the last great temple

to be built in Orissa, and by the time it was built, the well-established convention had been to put a pair of lions rampant on elephants at the gates or the entrances of all notable temples, for which such gates came to be known as *simha-dvaras*. The solitary exception in the temple of Konarka had therefore a special significance which in context of the known history and of the details of the representation, can only be taken to represent king Narasimha's pride of victory.

The rich trappings, the magnificent modelling and impetuosity shown in these war horses, indicate that their master is awarrior of no mean rank, who, with ornaments in his person, stands majestically by their side restraining them by one hand and holding the hilt of a naked sword in another, no doubt to kill the enemy lying on the ground. His rank is rather evident from the double chowries (*chamaras*) which, besides the quiver and the sheath of the sword, are to be seen on the horse's back on the either side of the saddle, and which are no doubt a sign of royalty.

One of the horses having trampled down two enemies with bearded faces, has put his hoof on the shield of the third. All these human figures, badly mangled, lie in a state of agony beneath the gigantic standing animal. Though the sculptures depicting them have now been considerably defaced and mutilated, they should all be taken to be the vanquished enemies of Narasimha, in spite of the fact that their correct identification will for ever remain doubtful.

Secular figures had, as a rule, no place on religious structures, but kings, queens, builders of temples and devotees had sometimes the privilege of being featured alongside other religious motifs. On the temple of Konarka, however, the number of the human figures, particularly those of the royal builder, is by no means small in its innumerable carvings. Narasimha is seen as being received and garlanded by the high priest in the sculptures on the basement of the *ratna-vedika* (the richly carved pedestal of the presiding deity), sometimes he is found as showing his skill in archery or being swung in a *dolika* and sometimes he is depicted as a worshipper by the side of the trinity represented by the phallic emblem, Durga and Jagannatha with is two other associates. There is a great deal of similarity in all these figures representing the king, though it is difficult to say whether they represent his real portraiture or have been idealised. In view of his frequent representations in the sculptures of the temple, it will not appear surprising that he has been

sculptured as the dismounted rider by the saide of these colossal warhorses too.

The colossal elephants too carry bearded figures in their trunks, who hold short swords and round shields, but since such conventional representations of the elephant with similar attributes are rather common in the Orissan temples, it is not safe to attach any special significance to them.

We thus get from the sculptures of the temple itself the glimpses of the triumphant warfare carried out by Narasimha and his pride of victory. The events preceding its erection and the age in which it was erected, were also responsible for much of its magnificence. In the late mediaval period all notable temples were more or less conveived as royal abodes with the huge buildings of ostensible dimensions consisting of main shrines, audience halls (*Jagamohanas*), dancing halls (*Natamandiras*) and dining halls (*Bhogamandapas*); and with all regal paraphernalia such as elephants, horses, cows, palanauins, chariots, gold ornaments and utensils, silk cloths, dancing girls, musical parties; and above all rich estates to defray regal expenditure on worship and offerings. The idea was to allow a presiding deity to live in state as much as a king would do, along with his family members for whom smaller temples were erected in the compound of the main one. With such changed ideas prevailing in the country about the abode and worship of presiding deities, Narasimha I, flushed with victory and endowed with the resources of his conquests, began the construction of this temple. So its magnificence and grandeur can be understood only against its historical background.

In choosing a site for a grand monument Narasimha would have inevitably been led to select Konarka, for among the time-honoured five sacred *ksetras* of Orissa, viz. Puri, Konarka, Bhubaneswar, Mahavinayaka and Jajpur, the last but one was always obscure and no grand monument ever stood there. He had therefore to make a choice from among the remaining four, of which Puri and Bhubaneswar had already magnificent temples built by the preceding Orissa. Kings and Jajpur, too, appears to have had a similar grand monument that has been replaced by the present Viraja temple of the comparatively late period. Of the far-famed sacred places, only Konarka was thus left for his choice, where in the presence of the rolling and roaring sea Narasimha lavished his all on a magnificent monument designed on an over-ambitious scale, in which imagination and execution wanted to outstrip each other and in

which religious necessity and human vanity mingled together in an attempt to accommodate each other.

Originally the spacious compound contained within it the main temple, the *Jagamohana* or the porch, the *Natamandira* or the dancing hall, the so-called Mayadevi or Ramachandi temple and some other subsidiary structures of which the plinths are in existence. Of these, *Jagamohana* or the porch is in complete condition, but the rest have left only the remnants. We have already spoken of the architectural peculiarities of the temple. We should now turn to the identification of the so-called Mayadevi or the Ramachandi temple.

To the south-west of the main shrine there stood another temple with an attached *Jagamohana* of which only the lower portions exist at present. From the points of importance, beauty and perhaps height, this temple was only next to the main shrine of the sun god. It was late Mr. Bishan Swarup who first identified it as the temple of Mayadevi on the ground that "The name of the goddess is given in the third record of the Puri temple as Mayadevi." On the assumption that the temple was dedicated to the Buddhist deity Mayadevi, mother of Gautama Budha, Mr. Swarup also launched upon a long discussion of the Buddhist influences supposed to be found in the sculptures, the rituals and the festivals of the Konarka temple. No reference to Mayadevi as one of the deities of Konarka has, however, been found in any of the manuscripts of the *Madalapanji* subsequently discovered, nor the name occures in the published version of the same work. In all likelihood, Mr. Swarup, who had no knowledge of the Oriya language, was supplied with a false account of Konarka as having been given in a copy of the *Madala-panji* or the third record of the Puri temple as he calles it, by a dealer of spurious historical materials, which had unfortunately been so much in evidence since beginning of the British rule in Orissa, when there began a demand for historical documents. It is also surprising that the identification based on such dubious materials continued to be accepted by all subsequent scholars writing upon Konarka, without questioning the validity of the presence of a Buddhist deity in the compound of a purely Hindu temple built in the middle of the thirteenth century when Buddhism had completely been ousted or superseded.

But one Orissan historian, late Pandit Krupasindhu Misra, has not accepted this identification made by Mr. Swarup, though he has not questioned the latter's source of information. According to Pandit Misra this temple was that of Ramachandi. Assigning reasons for this

new identification, he observes that several local people gave him the name of the deity formerly enshrined in this particular temple, as Ramachandi, and that there is also a local tradition which supports this tradition. According to this tradition, when this temple was being desecrated and destroyed by Kala Pahar general of Suleiman Karrani of Bengal, the goddess Ramachandi with a pitcher in her hand left the temple on the pretext of taking her bath in the Liakhia Muhana of the sea not far from Konarka. Kala Pahar waited for some time for the return of the goddess and then himself went to the Liakhia Muhana only to find that the goddess with the pitcher was floating in the sea. The purport of this tradition is that on account of the exigencies arising out of the attack of Kala Pahar on Konarka, the image of Ramachandi had to be removed to the Liakhia Muhana.

The same tradition however occurs in a slightly altered form in the *Madhya Parva* of the Oriya *Mahabharata* by Sarala Das, composed in the reign of Kapileswara Gajapati. In both the version Ramachandi is represented as having left her abode with a pitcher in her hand on the pretext to taking her bath in the sea and subsequently floating in it and thus outwitting her aggressor. But the main difference in both is that in the earlier version recorded by Sarala Das, the name of the aggressor appears as Bada Chudanga, while in the latter heard by Pandit Misra, the name is Kala Pahar. After the Muslim conquest of Orissa in 1568 A. D. when Kala Pahar committed several acts of vandalism, popular traditions made him a symbol of destruction and attributed to him all damages and destructions to be noticed in the Orissan images and temples, regardless of the real agencies through which such damages and destructions were actually caused. In the story connected with the removal of the image of Ramachandi from Konarka to the Liakhia Muhana, we find the same popular process at work.

As we have already stated, Sarala Das, who wrote his *Mahabharata* more than one hundred years prior to the acts of vandalism committed by Kala Pahar in 1568, makes Bada Chudanga responsible for the removal of the image of Ramachandi. This Bada Chudanga can be no other than Ananta Varman Chodaganga, founder of the Ganga dynasty in Orissa. One of the sons of Ananta Varman Chodaganga, Attahasadeva, had a son who also bore the name of Chodaganga. In order to distinguish between these two Chodagangas Sarala Das designates Ananta Varman Chodaganga as Bada Chudanga or Chodaganga the elder, which no doubt points to the accuracy of his

knowledge about these historical personages. In several other Orissa traditions King Chodaganga has been represented as opposed to *Sakta* worship in Orissa. In view of this fact it would appear most probable that it was due to the apathy of Chodaganga to *Sakta* worship that the image of Ramachandi was removed from Konarka to the Liakhia Muhana, an obscure locality in the neighbourhood of Konarka, where it is to be actually found at present. There was therefore no image of Ramachandi at Konarka proper or in the shrine of the sun god there, when the present structures were built by Narasimha I, a distanct successor of Ananta Varman Chodaganga.

Pandit Misra's theory that the temple was that of Ramachandi is thus untenable. What was then the name of the presiding deity of this temple ? Very likely there has been a confusion between Chhayadevi and Mayadevi, because according to the time-honoured custom, a temple of Chhayadevi, consort of the sun god, must have originally existed in the compound of the shrine· A study of the medieval Hindu sculptures of Orissa convinces us that in the thirteenth century it was binding on all builders and sculptors to represent all main male deities along with their female consorts, As we have already seen, even the *dikpalas* or the guardian deities carved on the outer walls of the temple structures, which had originally no consorts, by their sides in earlier temples, came to be represented on the later Ganga monuments along with their female counterparts. Indrani, Yami and Varuni, for instance, are found side by side their male consorts with the same attributes and the same mounts. On the temple of the Sun at Konarka such female counterparts of the guardian deities were also certainly represented, an evidence of which is furnished by the image of Varunani the only survival of eight such images, which has now been exhibited in the National Museum, New Delhi. This female deity has wrongly been identified as Ganga, but that it was the female counterpart of Varuna, the guardian of the west, is evidenced by the mount *makara* and the *pasa* or the noose, the latter being the characteristic attribute only of Varuna, for which he is also otherwise known as Pasi. In the compounds of all main shrines in Orissa there are also temples for the female counterparts of the presiding deities, which in point of importance are only next to the main edifices. In the temple compounds of Jagannatha at Puri and Lingaraja at Bhubaneswar, the temples of Laksmi and Parvati are respectively to be found at present. The temple of Parvati, as its architectural and sculptural peculiarities indicate, was a structure erected during the Ganga Period, which indicate that the Ganga builders

provided temples for the female consorts of the presiding deities in such shrines as had originally no such provisions. In view of these facts it will be most unreasonable to think that the great temple of Konarka, which represents the culmination of the temple architecture in Orissa, had originally no provision in its compound for an abode of Chhayadevi, consort of the Sun god. In fact we shall have to identify the so-called temple of Mayadevi as that of Chhayadevi.

In this connection we may also take into consideration an incidental reference to Chhayadevi to be found in the Oriya *Mahabharata* by Sarala Das, which, as already stated, was composed in the reign of Kapilesvara (1435–67 A. D.). In the *Virata Parva* in a long invocation put in the mouth of Kichaka, Sarala Das refers to the Sun god at Konarka as "Chhayadevivara" i e. the consort of Chhayadevi, indirectly hinting that the Sun god lived there along with his female counterpart, Chhayadevi. There will thus be little doubt that there was a temple for Chhayadevi in the compound of the present Konarka temple, of which the remains are now to be found to the south-west of the main shrine.

Of all the structures built inside the spacious compund, only the *Jagamohana* or the porch has come down to us in complete form. Consequently a question has always been posed whether the other structures including the main one, were at all completed. The first to raise such a question was Mr. Arnott and the last to support it has been Mr. Percy Brown who makes the following observation in this connexion :

"There are fairly clear proofs that it was never quite completed as before the ponderous stones that formed the upper portion of the tower could be put into position, the foundation began to give way. Some of the large sculptured blocks intended for the summit lie at the foot, not only unbroken, but unbruised; whereas had they fallen from such a height they could not fail to show signs of serious damages or fractures."

Mr. Brown's conclusion should however be treated with greatest caution. Mystery surrounds this monument not only with regard to the cause of its fall, but also with regard to the disappearance of innumerable sculptured and architectural parts, and images originally forming the stupendous structure, which after its fall must have formed a huge heap of debris. Even when Stirling and Ferguson visited the

temple in 1822 and 1837 respectively, a part of the tower to a height of 120 feet was still existing. No definite records exist about the clearance of the debris; about the removal of colossal animal sculptures from their original positions at the portals to the centre of the compound; about the disappearance of the door-frame and the Navagraha slab of the main temple, which must have been in blue chlorite and as beautifully carved as those of the *Jagamohana* still in existence, and about the disappearance of the images of the guardian deities and their female counterparts, all executed in blue chlorite, of which only that of Varunani exists as the single survival. The fact remains that the locality has never been carefully excavated with a view to examine the finds with reference to the different parts of the fallen structure A few stray undamaged blocks to which Mr Percy Brown draws our attention, can by no means constitute a conclusive proof that the temple was never quite completed. Such undamaged blocks as are to be found at present, can very well be taken to be spare or rejected specimens, of which several examples can even now be seen as lying in the close vicinity of some completed temples at Bhubaneswar

Mr. Brown's theory cannot thus be accepted. There are several evidences of convincing character which show that the temple was completed and the presiding deity was under worship. It cannot be imagined that the *Jagamohana* or the porch which has come down to us in complete form, had been completed before the completion of the main temple. Such a process would mean putting the cart before the horse and therefore is not noticed as a constructional peculiarity in any of the numerous temples of Orissa. It may be mentioned that the shrine was the main consideration of the builder and the porch was meant only to shelter the faithful. Besides, had the main temple actually collapsed before it was completed and consecrated, the successors of Narasimha I would not have referred to it with pride as an achievement of their worthy predecessor. But as we have already stated, reference to this temple occurs in all Ganga copperplate grants, the last being that of Narasimha IV, dated in the Saka year 1308 corresponding to 1384 A. D. This indicates that even after a lapse of more than a century and a quarter, it continued to be remembered by the Ganga kings as a noteworthy achievement of their distant predecessor. A part of the verse containing the reference has been interpreted in two different ways. According to an earlier interpretation, the king Narasimha built at Konakona (a place of great renown) a temple for the Sun to live in with other gods, but according to a later, he built for the Sun a temple

in order that he (the king) would live in heaven with other gods by virtue of this religious act. The latter interpretation appears to be more correct, for, as is well known, temples were built by people with a view to attain religious merits. Besides, the first interpretation makes the Sun god a secondary deity of the shrine, whereas he is actually the presiding deity of it. The erection of this temple by Narasimha was thus considered by his successors as an act of piety also and this act of piety could not have been attributed to him, had the temple collapsed in course of its construction before it could be consecrated and the image installed.

The latest reference to this temple in the copperplate inscription of Narasimha IV shows that the temple might not have fallen nor the worship of the deity discontinued at least up to 1384 A. D. This proposition is also supported by another literary evidence to be found in a Sanskrit work, *Tirtha-chintamani* by Vachaspati Mishra. Vachaspati Mishra's work contains in usual orthodox manner the descriptions of most of notable sacred places in India along with those in Orissa. With regard to the sacred places of Orissa he shows his detailed acquaintance with their topography, names of the temples, types of worship and *mantras* used in them and the festivals held in honour of the deities. He must have also studied the sacred literature connected with the Saiva shrine at Bhubaneswar, as is evidenced by the occurrence in the *Tirtha-chintamani*, of two verses of the twenty-eighth chapter of the *Svarnnadri-mahodaya*, a Saiva work, without any change whatsoever. He also shows his detailed knowledge of Konarka and prescribes the following procedure for pilgrims for approaching and worshipping the presiding deity of this temple.

"Then, with flowers in hand and speech restrained one should go to the temple of the Sun and after having made three circumambulations, enter into it and worship the Sun."

Internal evidences to be found in the *Svarnnadri-mahodaya* indicate that it could not have been composed prior to the fourteenth century and the *Tirtha-chintamani* which borrows two verses from this work, cannot therefore be earlier than the same century. The *Tirtha-chintamani* is a work of inferior literary quality and as such its author Vachaspati Mishra cannot be taken identical with his name-sakes, the composer of the *Bhavadevabhatta Prasasti* and the well-known philosophical writer of Bengal, both of whom have been considered to be the notable authors.

In the *Virata Parva* of his *Mahabharata* Sarala Das in an invocation put in the mouth of Kichaka tells us that the sun temple was broken because of a curse given to the Sun god by Gautama. The reference indicates the Konarka temple had fallen by the middle of the fifteenth century when the poet wrote his Mahabharata. About the cause of its fall we can only guess. Some persons think that it collapsed as a result of the earth quake, but this would have occasioned, as Mr. M. M. Ganguly has pointed out, vertical cracks in the temple and horizontal ones in the floor, of which no evidence is to be found at present. Most likely it collapsed due to the sinking of the foundations in sandy sea-beach. An instance of such collapse is to be found in the great temple at Khiching in Mayurbhanj, which has now been reconstructed with the main cause of its collapse discovered.

The Ananta Vasudeva temple of Bhubaneswar : A commemorative inscription was originally attached to this monument, but it was later detached and sent to England where it is now preserved in the hall of Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, London. It was first edited by Mr. Barnett in the *Epigraphia Indica,* Vol. XIII, pp. 160-5. It is stated in the epigraph that a temple was built for Sri Krishna and Vala-Vasa (Valarama) on the bank of Vindusarovara by Chandrikadevi, daughter of Anangabhimadeva III in the Saka year 1200 (A. D. 1278). The date of the completion of the temple has been given in verse 13 as "*vyoma-viyat-phanindra-rasana-chandra*" (*vyoma*=0, *viyat*=0, *phanindra-rasana*=2 and chandra=1. Reversing the digits we get 1200). The epigraph further discloses that Anangabhima married his daughter Chandrika to Paramardideva, the ornament of the Haihaya family, but Paramardi, after having successfully fought with the enemies of Narasimhadeva I, ultimately went to heaven. It seems that the husband of Chandrika fell fighting on the battle field and after his death the widowed lady built the temple of Ananta-Vasudeva for Achyuta for whom she is represented to have developed a devotion from her childhood.

The plan of the Ananta-Vasudeva temple (A. D. 1278) differs considerably from that of the other temples. The main temple stands on a cruciform platform, a peculiarity which is the first of its kind in a dated temple, and has a three-chambered frontal adjunct consisting of the *Jagamohana*, the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa.* Three small *pidha* temples in alignment with the central niches were on the northern, eastern and southern sides of the *Vimana*, of which only the eastern one is in *situ* and the other two have left only the remains of

their plinths. Prof. R. D. Banerjee thinks that they were used as propylaea, but most likely they were side structures containing deities cor esponding to the ones in the central niches. The *Vimana* and the *sikhara* have almost the same designs as those in the Meghesvara. It is a *sapta-ratha* temple and the designs in the pilasters consist of niches and complete or incomplete miniature *sikharas*. The niches in the central pilasters are occupied by the Vaisnavite deities, the presiding deities of the shrine being Valarama and his brother Sri Krisna.

The *Natamandira* is an open hall, but *Bhogamandapa* is comparatively closed. Certain constructional peculiarities inside these structures are worth mentionining. The *Natamandira* contains in the interior the so-called eight corbelled arches, evidently to reduce the weight of the super-structure on the walls, and the *Bhogamandapa* has only two such devices above the entrances, evidently for the same purpose. The high plinth, the judicious use of the corbelled arches and the three-chambered porch, all indicate an architectural advancement in the Ananta-Vasudeva, but it lacks the grace of the Brahmesvara temple, the base of its *Vimana* being comparatively small and the *sikhara* stiff and straight. Moreover, although it is one of the later temples of the place, it has suffered from more wear and tear, the damages being no doubt due to the inferior type of sandstone used in the building.

The Ananta-Vasudeva temple being a Vaisnava shrine, the cult images appearing on it are necessarily different from those of the Saiva temples. But there are some images which are common to the temples both the sects. These images are those of the *dikpalas* or the guardian deities which appear, as in the Brahmesvara and the Meghesvara, not only on the *Vimana* but also on the *Jagamohana* of the Ananta-Vasudeva. In all these temples the characteristics, attributes and mounts of these deities are almost the same, but the innovation that is to be found in the Ananta-Vasudeva is that here they are represented with their female counterparts. Indra, for instance, appears along with Indrani, both being carved one above the other and both having identical characteristics, weapons and mounts. The appearance of the female counterparts of the guardian deities on the Bhubaneswar temples has an important bearing which help us in fixing up the chronology of the temples.

Of the other cult images that appear on this temple, mention may be made of the images of the Boar and Dwarf incarnations of Visnu which are respectively enshrined in the southern and northern niches. These

images have been badly mutilated, but what remains of them indicates that they are in no way different from their prototypes of the late medieval period. On the northern side of the *Jagamohana* five balustrades, that make up the window, have each an image on its outer face. These images on the northern side make up a group of five consisting of Rama, Laksmana, Sita, Hanumana and Vibhisana. In the identical position on the southern side there were also five images consisting of Sri-Krisna and Gopis, but three of the balustrades have somehow become detached and have now been utilized in a miniature temple on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara in the near vicinity. A few other cult images like Laksmi and Sarasvati appear on the *Jagamohana* near the balustraded window in the north, but they possess no special iconographical features worthy of note.

The Temple of Parvati inside the Lingaraja Compound : It is situated to the north of the main temple of Lingaraja and has, like the Ananta-Vasudeva, a three-chambered frontal complex consisting of the *Jagamohana*, the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa*. Prof. R D. Banerjee has taken it to be a contemporary of the Lingaraja. The differences in the art and architecture of both the temples are, however, so obvious that they cannot possibly be taken to have belonged to one and the same period. The temple of Parvati stands on a high plinth, but that of Lingaraja rises abruptly from the ground level. The Parvati temple is *sapta-ratha* in plan, while the Lingaraja is *pancha-ratha*. As apparent from the same type of stone and the continuity of the same type of decorations all the three chambers forming the frontal complex in the Parvati were built along with the sanctum, but in the Lingaraja, the *Natamandira* and the *Bhogamandapa* represent later additions. The sculptures, particularly the scrolls in the Parvati temple, are typical of the Ganga epoch, and when they are compared with those of the Ananta-Vasudeva, the Chitresvara, the Sari Deul and the Yamesvara, most of them are found not only similar but also almost identical. The overcrowding of too many decorative designs in all available spaces of the walls is a characteristic of the art in the Parvati temple, which is not to be noticed in the great Lingaraja. The art of the Lingaraja is noted for a bold execution of the decorative designs and their judicious spacing, while that of the Parvati is remarkable for the minute decorations, chiselled with great precision, resembling the carvings on the ivory or woodwork which, on account of their exuberant details, seem to lack a sense of space. These are the obvious difference between the art and architecture of the two temples and so, the temple of Parvati with all evident

characteristics the Ganga monuments can be placed in the Ganga epoch, probably a near contemporary of the Ananta-Vasudeva.

The Yamesvara of Bhubaneswar : It is a fairly large-sized temple situated on the left side of the road to the Khandgiri. It bears all the peculiarities of a Ganga monument. It stands on a high plinth and had side structures in front of the niches containing the side deities. It shows advanced architectural features in being *sapta-ratha* in plan, in having corbelled arches and iron beams and seven pilasters. It had a *vahana-stambha* which stood in the intervening space between tha *Jagamohana* and *Natamandira*, of which only a stump remeins at present. Of the *Natamandira* nothing remains now except the plinth. Its general plan seems to have followed that of the great temple of Konarka where the *Aruna Stambha* stood in the intervening space between the *Jagamohana* and the *Natamandira*. In its sculptures it shows the female counterparts of the guardian deities both in the *Vimana* and the *Jagamohana*, and in the Navagraha slab, Ketu with a sword and a shield and Brihaspati with a beard. The scrolls which decorate all available spaces of the pilasters are analogous to those appearing on the Ananta-Vasudeya. In most cases they consist of creepers with full or half-medallions enclosing leaf designs and animal figurines, such as elephants, bears, and deer. The present temple of Yamesvara occupies an earlier shrine. There are two more *lingams* inside its compound, which are found fixed to a level much lower than that of the present temple. In the south-east corner of its compound, the corner portion of an earlier temple is still to be noticed in the midst of the ruins of a laterite structure, which was most likely being used as the kitchen of the present temple.

The Chandesvara temple : It stands near Tangi in the Puri district. Even though it is in ruin it seems to be one of the best temples of Orissa, bearing the characteristics of the Ganga period. It is of almost the same height as the Brahmesvara and like all Ganga temples stands on a plinth which however resembles a lotus. It is a *pancha-ratha* temple, but its sculptures indicate that its date lies between the Meghesvara and the Ananta-Vasudeva. On the walls guardian deities appear with their female counterparts, an iconographic development which is shared by all notable Ganga temples. The planet slab which has fallen down, but still to be found in the temple compound, shows in its surviving portion Vrihaspati with a beard, which is also an iconographic trait of the Ganga temple

sculptures The *alasa-kanyas* which have escaped destruction and pilferege show remarkable artistic excellence, and the erotic figures and amorous couples to be found on the structure are similar to those of the Ganga temples. One remarkable sculpture of the monument is a representation of a hermit carrying on his shoulders a beautiful woman. Another is a *alasa-kanya* with a goose pecking the lock of her hair, but the most outstanding and remarkable sculpture of this temple was that of Kama discharging an arrow from his bow through the breasts of a most beautiful woman. Two women sitting at the feet of Kama, apparently represented Rati and Priti. It was a marvelous sculpture unparalleled in the plastic art of India. The present writer visited the temple on 12-3-1951, but now he hears that this marvelous sculpture has been stolen away. The loss of this image unique in conception and execution, is a great loss to Indian heritage. A detached panel lying in the temple compound shows the story of Sri Krishna's birth. It depicts Vasudeva carrying the child Sri Krisna through the river Yamuna under the protection of Ananta Naga. The panel was there when the present writer visited the shrine but it is not certain whether it is still there now. This piece of sculpture was also unique in the temple decorations of Orissa, as no second scene of this type is to be found in any other Orissan temple. Another architectural fragment depicted the scene of *Godhana-harana* by Brahma, which was similar to that to be found on the southern facade of the Meghesvara at Bhubaneswar. It is a pity that the priceless objects of art of this most beautiful temple are gradually disappearing.

The Bhaskaresvara of Bhubaneswar : It stands about a quarter mile to the west of the Meghesvara. The local people generally make a confusion between these two temples and assign the name of one to the other. The Bhaskaresvara contains a huge Siva *lingam*, nine feet high and twelve feet five inches in circumference, which has characteristically been described in the local sacred texts as *Vrihallingam* and which, as we have already shown, is in reality the remnant of an Asokan pillar. So far as the shape of the *sikhara* is concerned it is the only one of its type in Orissa and the avowed purpose of its builder has been to shape it like a pagoda and to provide a permanent stone model for the wooden pagoda (*ratha*) which is annually used in the car festival of the place. It is a plain temple, but the images in the side niches and a few chaitya arches carved on the body of the structure indicate that it was most likely built in the Ganga period. The present structure stands on the site of an earlier temple and there are distinct indications of the earlier materials having been used in it.

The Mitresvara and the Varunesvara : These two groups of temples are situated to the east of the Yamesvara. A few surviving sculptures on them and their general architectural style enable us to place them in the Ganga period. Each of these groups has a spacious tank to the south of their compounds. The tank to the south of the Varunesvara compound is known as Papanasini which has been highly extolled in the orthodox texts; but at present it is full of weeds and is being gradually silted up.

The Chitresvara : It is otherwise known as Chitrakarini and is situated to the north of the Lingaraja within close distance. Like the Brahmesvara, it has four smaller temples in the four corners of the compound. The main temple was one of the most beautifully decorated monuments of the period, but on account of a bad type of stone used in it, it has suffered from immense damages. It is a *sapta-ratha* temple and has the guardian deities along with their female counterparts on the *Vimana*. Both in the *Vimana* and the *Jagamohana* the erotic figures are found in large numbers. The pilasters of the *Vimana* have been profusely decorated with the various designs peculiar to the Ganga art. Just above the northern window of the *Jagamohana* there is a panel depicting the scene of *Godhanaharana* as given in the *Harivamsa* and in the corresponding position on the southern side the scene of Siva's marriage has been represented.

The Sari Deul : It is situated just behind the Jagannath Ballabha Matha on the southern side of the Vindusarovara. The temple both in dimensions and workmanship, is in no way inferior to that of Ananta-Vasudeva, but with houses, surrounding it on all sides, it is now relegated to an obscure corner. It is a typical example of a *sapta-ratha* temple and its art and architecture provide ample evidence to indicate that it belonged to the Ganga period. The pilasters have been overcrowded with numerous scrolls containing the favourite designs of the Ganga art. The guardian deities appear with their female counterparts both on the *Vimana* and the *Jagamohana*. In the Navagraha slab we find both Brihaspati and Sukra as bearded figures. Like the Chitresvara it also contains a number of erotic figures, one of which gives an indication that the temple was a close contemporary of the great Sun temple at Konarka. It represents a nude female figure standing with her legs wide apart over a phallus below, a motif that frequently occurs in the temple at Konarka, but is not seen among the erotic sculptures of other temples except the Chitresvara. A panel above the window on the

southern side of the *Jagamohana* contains an elaborate scene of elephants and their riders, which most likely represents a royal procession.

Mention may be made, in this connexion, about the temple of Vakresvara that stands almost opposite the Yamesvara on the right side of Khandagiri Road. It is now a deserted structure and in a very decayed state. It is important, however, in having a *nava-ratha* plan, which is a further advance on the *sapta-ratha* plan of the monuments of this epoch. Apart from this and also the fact that it consists only of the sanctum and the *Jagamohana*, the temple exhibits the principal characteristics of the Ganga monuments and may, on legitimate grounds, be placed in this epoch, possibly during the later days, as the elaboration of the ground plan would seem to indicate. As the only example of a *navaratha* temple at Bhubaneswar, it represents a further development in the temple design and deserves proper care and conservation.

Besides the temples mentioned above, the Ganga period also witnessed the erection of a large number of smaller temples. In the compound of the Lingararaja alone there are about a dozen temples which bear some of the Ganga characteristics. Two other groups of temples, the Somesvara and the Gosahasresvara seem to have been erected during this epoch. The temple of Bhavani-Sankara and several unnamed ones to be found in the close vicinity of the Sari Deul, in the compound of the Charitable Dispensary at Bhubaneswar, on the right side of the road to the Khandagiri, in the open field behind the Doodwalla Dharmasala, in the paddy-fields to the east of the town and along the bank of the river Gangua, may also be included in the list of the Ganga monuments. Some half-ruined temples standing at the foot of the Dhauligiri also bear the Ganga characteristics. The surviving examples of this period are therefore the largest among the Bhubaneswar temples.

Monuments of the Suryavamsi Period (1435-1540 A.D.)

The Papanasini and Kapilesvara After the Gangas, the glorious period of temple-building activities in Orissa was over, but the spirit lingered on during the succeeding period of Suryavamsi supremacy which also witnessed the erection of some notable temples in Orissa The half-ruined porch standing near the Papanasini tank still bears an inscription referring itself to the reign of Kapilesvara (A.D 1435-1467), which proves beyond doubt that the structure belonged to his reign. It, however, does not contain enough evidence to enable us to form a clear idea about

the peculiarities of art and architecture of the period. It seems that the dynastic change did not result in any great change in architectural style, but in sculpture a definite set-back is to be perceived. The decorative female figures which adorn the half-ruined porch, merely represent the crude imitations of their earlier prototypes. Here and there the sculptor's art has however risen above the ordinary stanard and has created some fine specimens. The inscribed slab that contains the elephant procession and an image of Nataraja carved on the northern wall of the structure, represent, on doubt, fine specimens of art of this period.

The only othet notable temple at Bhubaneswar, that seems to have belonged to this period is that of Kapilesvara. situated on the bank of the Gangua about a mile to the south of the Lingaraja. The remains of an earlier temple still to be found there prove that the present temple occupies the site of an earlier monument. The shrine as well as the adjacent tank also find frequent mention in the orthodox literature. Like the important Ganga temples, it has a three-chambered frontal complex, but the late date of the temple is more evident from its cult images. Mention should particularly be made of the image of Kartikeya, which is shown with *dambaru* and trident, attributes which are unknown even in the images of the latest temples of the Ganga period. The Nataraja figure in the Kapilesvara is dancing on the back of the bull, a motif that we find in the Papanasini porch. The sculptures are analogous to those of the Papanasini in geneal style and it is possible hence that the Kapilesvara, as we see it now, belongs to the same epoch.

The temple of Kapilesvara appears to be the last notable monument to be built at Bhubaneswar. After the fall of the Suryavamsi dynasty art and architecture seem to have languished on account of the lack of royal patronage. There is a tradition that the temple of Dhavalesvara standing on an island of the Mahanadi, was built by Kapilendradeva. A similar tradition also credits Prataparudradeva with the building of the temple of Varaha at Jajpur.

Temple Sculptures

General Characteristics : Though vast in number, the temple sculptures in the ultimate analysis reduce themselves into some broad classes. They can even at once be divided into two broad categories, namely the cult images and the decorative motifs. The first category

includes the representations of gods and goddesses and episodes from their lives and the second a variety of subjects or objects introduced to beautify the structures or to create a religious atmosphere about them. The decorative motifs embrace within their scope the male and female figures, erotic sculptures, semi-divine beings such as *Gandharvas, Nagas, Yaksas, Kinnaras etc.* griffins, enigmatic figures of amusing character, fauna and flora, scrolls and arabesques, fables and stories, chaitya arches and lotus medallions and others of similar decorative character. Most of the temples of Orissa, particularly the early ones assigned to the early medieval period, were decorated with these motifs and with them they stood as the epitomes of beauty, breathing a religious fervour and serenity around them.

Erotic Sculptures : Of these decorative motifs erotic sculptures scarcely make their appearance in the early temples but they occur in profusion in late ones, particularly in the great temple of Konarka. Because of their profusion in this particular temple and because of their revolting character, these erotic figures have claimed greater attention and have come in for greater criticism than any other classes of decoration. One notable writer of Indian architecture, Mr. Percy Brown, has even gone to the length of doubting the survival of the demoralised race of people who were responsible for carving them in stone and who, according to him, might have carried into practice the gross vulgarties displayed by these figures. These sweeping remarks however betray a lack of knowledge of the origin and purpose of these plastic obscenities and also in Orissan history. Mr. Brown further attempts to strengthen his remarks by contending that the present people of Orissa will be hardly capable of raising a stupendous structure like the Konarka temple, but he does not tell us as to which part of India or the world will at present be capable of producing an exact replica of Konarka (Percy Brown, *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Hindu Period,* first edition, pp. 126 27).

To judge a matchless monument of the past against the background of the present, is to miss the whole perspective of its study. Mr. Brown's theory is also not borne out by the known facts of the Orissan history. The Ganga period, of which this matchless temple was a product, was followed by an equally or even a more brilliant period of the Orissan history and it was ushered in by Gajapati Kapilendradeva, who was a son of the soil (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* Vol. LXIX, 1900, P. 175). The empire established by him at one time extended from the

Ganges in the north to the Kaveri in the south (*Further Sources of Vijayanagara History*, Vol. I, p. 120) and that too at a time when Orissa was sandwiched between the powerful Muslim and Hindu states both in the north and south. The people of this eastern coast of India showed their last vitality in the Gajapati period and so, if a change of catastrophic character as imagined by Mr. Brown is to be sought in the Orissan history, it should be sought in the post-Gajapati period in the sixteenth century and not before it, but the temple of Konarka was built in the thirteenth century. The Orissan history does not record any such catastrophic change before the sixteenth century, but in the drama of the rise and fall of the civilised races of the world events unknown to history and unknownable by the ordinary standard of human knowledge, have played no small part and the past and the present of many peoples are by no means of consistent. Orissa is no exception to this freak of human history.

Actuated by a modern spirit of research, scholars have perhaps attached more significance and more evil influence to these erotic figures than their creators and the vast majority of the faithful, visiting the temple shrines, could have ever dreamt of. These figures are by no means an isolated phenomenon in the temples of Konarka and of Orissa, although at Konarka they occur in profusion. But profusion is a characteristic of the art of this temple and it shows no stint in respect of any type of decoration. Obscene or erotic figures "occur on the temples of Khajuraho in Central India, at Madura, in certain of the eleventh century temples of the Deccan, as for instance at Balsane in Khandesh and in the Asvera at Sinnar in the Nasik district." They occur on they wooden *Rathas* of the Bengali Vaishnavas and have been kept in some modern shrines of Bengal (R. D. Banerji—*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 401). They decorate the modern Nepalese temples of which a wooden temple built by the Nepalese near the Observatory at Benaras is a notable example. In Orissa they are absent from the earliest temples, but they first make their appearance on the temples assignable to the Bhauma Period (eighth-ninth century A. D.), which was dominated by the Mahayana form of Buddhism that fostered Tantrism. The present writer has therefore, held the view that their occurrence on the Orisan temples is due to the Tantrik influence (*Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswer*, p. 130 ff). Dr. N. R. Ray, an eminent scholar of Indian art, makes the following observation on them :

"The present writer can bear witness to the fact that he has seen Oriya villagers of the present day look at the panorama of life stretching

before their eyes on the walls of Konarka with as much unconcern and detachment as belong to the figures themselves, while the middle-class educated students either shrink or glance at them through a corner of their bashful eyes!" (*The Struggle for Empire*, Bhâratiya Vidya Bhavan, pp. 653-54).

Decorative Female figures : Among the other decorative motifs of the Orissan temples the female figures that occur on them are the most beautiful products of the Orissan sculptors. Each of them is like a piece of love poem written on stone, which occurring alongside the serious scenes of religious significance, the stereotyped forms of cult. images or the obscene figures of voluptuous poses, provide a diversion and relief to a discerning visitor. The origin of the decorative female figures goes back to remote antiquity. They are first noticed in the Jaina and Buddhist *stupas*. The railing pillars of the Buddhist *stupa* at Bahrut, of the Bodhi tree shrine at Bodh Gaya and of the Jaina *stupa* at Kankali Tila near Mathura, have yielded a large number of decorative female figures which are now preserved in serveral of the museums in India.

There may be noticed certain feature which link the female figures of the early monuments with those of the Orissan temples. In these two classes of monuments separated by centuries the figures have been mostly depicted with trees by their sides and in both they stand in *torana-bhanjika* or *sala-bhanjika* poses. Again they are found decorating their own persons, holding beautiful objects or engaged in some kind of feminine pastime. That many of them in the early monuments represent semi-divine beings is proved by the inscriptions on railing pillars of the Bahrut *stupa*, which describe them as Yaksis. Here in the temples of Orissa, the supernatural character of these female figures is proved by the fact that most of them have been represented as standing on lotuses, and sometimes with lotuses serving as canopies over their heads. Their semi-divine character is thus indicated by the manner of their representation.

In Orissa these decorative female figures are known as *alasa-kanya*, a term which may indicate women in idle mood, but in north India they are known as *sura-sundaris* or the beauties of the heaven. Many of these figurse represent conventional poetical ideas to be found in Sanskrit literature. That an *Asoka* tree blossoms at the touch of the feet of a beautiful woman, is a conventional poetical idea which is to be

found in several Sanskrit works like the *Meghaduta, Malvikagnimitra* etc. and this conventional poetical idea has been executed in stone by the ancient artists of Orissa. In fact, for inspiration and for achieving grace and elegance in their creations both the poet and the artist had to borrow ideas from the same common source, viz. the Sanskrit literature. We do not however, go to the length of suggesting that certain motifs or forms have been inspired by a particular poet or poets like Kalidasa or Bhavabhuti. All that is intended to be said is that certain well known poetical ideas were widely current in the periods when the temples were built, and that the sculptors have depicted them in stone to lend charm and elegance to their creations. It is also to be noted that the sculptors in reproducing these ideas have been inspired by their beauty and appropriateness rather than by a desire to depict the real life of the society in which they lived

Although these female figures are conventional, they are not completely devoid of human sentiments. The females holding babies, plucking flowers or fruits, writing love letters, putting on ornaments, or engaged in similar feminine pastimes, that we find in the Orissan temples, are not always devoid of human sentiments, although such sentiments are of universal and ideal nature.

Chaitya Windows : The Chaitya windows or arches form a very large part in the decoration of the Orissan temples. In fact, in the earlier temples all important cult images except the *parsva-devatas* and religious scenes are found in the medallions or shallow niches enclosed by the Chaitya arches. The form of the window or arch has changed from period to period and, therefore, such changes possess a special chronological significance. In the earlier temples they are to be found in post-Gupta forms and in the later ones they are seen in highly stylised forms.

Miscellaneous Motifs : The lotus medallions and foliated vase capitals are the distinguising features of the earlier temples belonging to the early medieval period and in later ones they have become stylised so much so that they have become merely the semblances of their earlier models In the earlier temples like the Parasuramesvara and the Svarnnajalesvara the lotus medallions consist of lotus petals shown in full profile with corollas at the centres, but in the later great temples like the Lingaraja and the Konarka they are totally absent. Alongside these decorative motifs occur the semi-divine figures like the *Nagas* and

Nagis holding garlands in their hands, the flying *Vidyadharas*, the corpulent *Yaksas* and the bearded *Siddhas* descending from heaven.

Secular Figures : The secular figures are rarely represented on the temple structures, but an exception has been made in the case of royal personages, builders of the temples, ascetics and worshippers who have been allowed to appear alongside the gods and goddesses and semi-divine figures The musicians and dancers too have been allowed to decorate the edifices. Artistically the grills of the Parasuramesvara temple with dancing figures appeared to be so excellent to Mr. Percy Brown that he has described them in following words :

"But one portion stands out as being a product of exceptional merit, namely the two stone grills one on each side of the west doorway (Plate LXXI, Figs. 2-3). These represent figures of young dancers and musicians with trumpet and with shawn, lute and cymbal so grouped as to form perforated stone windows. In some respects these panels might be reproductions in stone of one of Della Rabbia's glazed terra-cotta reliefs, excelling even the work of that famous Florentine in their vigour and rhythm, and evidently the creation of one who left this brilliant work of art as the sole record of his inimitable genius *Ibid*, p. 120."

Most likeiy Mr. Brown did not notice the grill fixed to the laterite wall in the Kapilesvara temple at Bhubaneswar, or else he would not called those in the Parasuramesvara a sole record of inimitable genius of one Orissan artist, for, the figures of the Kapilesvara piece in their vigour, rhythm and linear treatment far excel their parallel at the Parasuramesvara.

Zenith of Decorative Art : The decorative art in the temple structures in Orissa reached its zenith at Konarka. Speaking of the sculptures of the Konarka temple the same critic, Mr. Percy Brown, says :

"Few building can boast of such an unrestrained abundance of plastic decoration as this vast structure, every portion of the exterior being moulded and chiselled either in the form of abstract geometrical ornament, conventional foliage, mythical animals, fabulous beings half human and half serpent coils, figures satanic and figures divine, of every conceivable motif and subject known to the Indian mind and in a technique which ranges from pattern cut with minute precision of cameo to powerfully modelled groups of colossal size".

We have already quoted above Havell's appreciation of the monolithic war horses of Konarka. They are indeed the marvels of Indian sculptures.

Major Centres of Art and Architecture

The three major centres of Orissan monuments viz. Bhubaneswar, Puri and Konarka have so far engaged our greater attention. They are situated at convenient places which can be easily approached and the monuments in them are in a comparatively better state of preservation. This is the reason why the art and architecture of these places have always got a larger share of the attention of all scholars. There are, however, other major centres, the monuments which have not received the notice they deserve. A fuller survey of such centres is precluded by the limited scope of this work, but to give an idea of immense archaeological remains of Orissa we give below a brief survey of them which may lead to their proper study.

Jajpur: As a major centre of art it is only comparable to Bhubaneswar and had originally as many temples as the latter place had. The difference now to be found in their number is due to the fact that the monuments of Jajpur have mostly perished or have been destroyed, whereas the Bhubaneswar ones have come down to us in large numbers. To make a systematic study of what has survived at Jajpur one must spend months or even years at the place.

The pilgrims guides prepared in oriya by some local scholars indicate that there are at present on less than one hundred living shrines in and around. Jajpur, each of which had originally an ancient temple, but only a less than half a dozen of ancient structures have come down to us. The fact is that vandalism was rampant here, which is indicated not only by the archaeological remains but also by the literary evidence furnished by the Bengali *Sunya Purana* quoted in Dr. D.C Sen's *History of Bengali Literature*. The great mosque now standing at Jajpur which was erected in the reign of Aurangzeb, has been wholly built of the stones taken from the Hindu temples. The images of *saptamatrikas*, Garuda, the colossal Padmapani and a number of other images now to be found of the S.D.O.'s quarter as the protected monuments at Jajpur, bear the clear and definite signs of deliberate breakage.

But though the ancient temples were deliberately destroyed, the shrines represented by them coluld not be wiped out of their existence.

At each of most of these shrines a small modern temple is now to be found and in these temples ancient decorated architectural pieces and the images are now to be found as later fixations or collections. These remains provide evidences and pointers to trace the growth of temple architecture of the place, The ancient sculptures are not only to be found in the modern temples of the place, but also in other later monuments. They are found fixed to the bridge of Athara Nallah over the Mandakini river flowing in the neighbourhood of the town and to the flight of steps in the Brahma Kunda tank.

We have already spoken of the remains of a temple at Kalasapura which, as the local people say, was the original shrine of Viraja, the presiding deity of the place, whose origin, as already discussed, goes, back to the remote antiquity of the Mahabharata Age. The ruins of Kalasapura possibly represent a flat-roofed Gupta temple, but the earliest piece of the archaeological objects at Jajpur is perhaps the present image of Viraja itself. It is a Mahisamarddini and in its iconography it is analogous to the same image to be found on the Gupta temple of Bhumara.

The existence of the temples similar to those of the Parasuramesvare group and the Sisiresvara-Vaital group of Bhubaneswar at Jajpur is attested to by a number of sculptural survivals at the latter place. The fragmentary specimens depicting Siva's marriage, Annapurnna giving alms to Siva, *alasa kanyas* and amorous couples standing cross-legged as in the Parasuramesvara and Vaital temples, funish clear pointers to the fact that the temples of the very early periods did exist at Jajpur. These fragmentary pieces also provide the close correlation of the art that flourished at both the centres. They not only show close similarity, but sometimes border on identity giving an impresion that the sculptors of both the places were reared in the same tradition.

The temples of Varaha, Trilochanesvara and Siddhesvara are now the only structures that stand in a comparatively good state of preservation. Of the three, the first was erected by Prataparudradeva according to a local tradition. The second in all appearance was a monument of the Ganga period and the third too was a Ganga temple and has still an inscription referring itself to the reign of the Ganga king Narasimhadeva IV (*Epigraphia India,* Vol. XXIX, p. 10,55 and plate). At the Siddhesvara site there was an earlier temple, the parts of which are still to be found in large numbers in the compound of the temple,

which clearly indicate the Bhauma style of decoration. The Trilochanesvara has been remodelled and in the process much of its originality has been lost. The temple of Varaha stands in its original form bearing in its body some earlier pieces of sculpture, of which the scene of Annapurnna giving alms to Siva is one.

As stated earlier, the loose sculptures are to be seen in all parts of this place. They are found in large numbers in the compound of the Akhandalesvara temple and at the village Narasimhapura. The Narasimhapura collection is of entirely Jaina images. We have already spoken of *the sapta-matrikas* and other images preserved in the compound of the S.D.O's quarter. One most noteworthy monument of Jajpur is the monolithic pillar, known as *Subha Stambha*, which, as we have pointed out earlier, was a *Garuda Stambha* possibly erected by Yayati I of the Somavamsis dynasty. Jajpur was the capital of both the Bhaumas and the Somavamsis and it also continued to be a place of great importance during the rule of the Gangas and the Suryavamsis. The archaelogical remains at the place therefore consist of the relics of all these periods. The remains also prove that Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism co-existed at Jajpur in the different periods of its history.

The Ratnagiri Area : We have already referred to a fragmentary stone inscription in cursive Gupta script found by the late Mr. R. Chanda in Ratnagiri and published by him in his *Memoirs os Archaelogical Survey of India* No. 44, which takes the origin of the Buddhist establishment here to fourth-fifth century A. D., if not earlier. While speaking of the sculptures of Ratnagiri Prof. R. D. Benerjee says that they are "characterized by naturalism, perfect equipoise, combined with a very high standard of idealistic excellence" (*History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 387). As is well-known, these are the characteristics of the Gupta art, but all scholars have assigned the earlier images of the Ratnagiri area to a period starting from the Bhauma rule in the eighth century A.D. We are, therefore, to presume that the Gupta tradition of art continued in this isolated area to a very late period or scholars have not taken pains to distinguish between the Gupta and the early medieval sculptures of the area We are of the opinion that the second presumption is perhaps correct. The Ratnagiri area consists of the Ratnagiri itself and the adjacent Udayagiri and Lalitagiri hills of the Cuttack district. We have already observed that the identification of the area with the Puspagiri Vihara described by Yuan Chwang, is not supported by the recent excavations there. The vast ruins to be found

in these hills have proved to be a varitable mine of beautiful Buddhist sculptures and several specimens taken from them have now found place in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, Patna Museum and the Musee Guimet at Paris. A collection of sculptures along with a door-frame was also removed from this area to Cuttack by Mr. John Beams and most of the specimens of the collection are now to be found in the modern shrines at Cuttack near the Ravenshaw College and at Bania sahi. Prof. R.D. Banerjee observes that in his time the area served as a quarry for railways and the only locality from which the collectors still found it "possible to cart away the priceless objects of art for their collections." This observation no longer holds good as the area has now been declared to be a protected one, but before protection was accorded to it, most of its beautiful sculptures had been removed by the antiquity-collectors. Here excavations were carried on between 1957-1960 by Mrs. Devala Mitra of the Archaeological Survey of India and the summaries of the results published in *Indian Archaeology* of these years with the photographic reproductions. The excavations unearthed one brick *stupa* and a stone monastery along with a number of antiquities including the beautiful Buddhist images. Further excavations in the area are likely to yield greater results.

Khiching : We have already referred to the monuments of Khiching which has been mentioned as Khijjinga-kotta in the Bhanja copperplates. It is situated at a distance of sixteen miles from Karanjia, a Sub-divisional Headquarter of the Mayurbhanj district. At present three ancient temples are to be found here and of them the one known as Kotai Tundi seems to be the earliest. It has been restored and reconstructed, but some original sculptures still existing, indicate that it was a monument of the ninth-tenth century A.D. The largest temple of the place, which too has been rebuilt, enshrines the presiding deity of the place, Khijjingesvari or Khichingesvari which has now been further corrupted into Kichakesvari. It is as high as the Brahmesvara temple of Bhubaneswar and in sculptures and constructional peculiarties it is analogous to the Brahmesvara. It is a *pancha-ratha* temple with the *pagas* fully developed and with the iron beams originally used in its ceiling. The *parsva-devats*, the Chaitya arches, the amrous couples, the obscene figures, the scrolls and the arabesques still to be found in the original parts of the temple clearly indicate that it was a close contemporary of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja of Bhubaneswar. An image of Lakulisa, still to be found on the temple, appears with a *yoga-patta* tied to his knees, and it is completely similar to the image

of the same deity appearing on the Lingaraja temple. We shall not be far from the truth if we assign the temple to the last part of the tenth century or the first part of the eleventh century A.D. While discussing the history of the Bhanja rulers of Mayurbhanj we have already shown that the copperplate grants mentioning Khijjinga-kotta, are assignable to the tenth-eleventh century A.D.

The place has still the remains of the two ancient forts now known as Kichakagada and Viratagada, which were apparently the royal residences of ancient Bhanja rulers. The latter was excavated and the brick structural remains unearthed along with a number of antiquities such as potteries, torracotta figurines, stone figurines, beads and other objects. Among the iron objects discovered the three-pronged iron nails are most peculiar. They were used for taming wild elephants. When the wild elephants trod over them they struck into their feet and consequently they limped and could not run.

The place was dotted with low lying mounds, most of which have been excavated and antiquites including stone images discovered from them. One mound, after excavation. revealed the remains of a *stupa* with a casket of ashes enshrined in it. The *stupa* was evidently a Buddhist one.

There is a site-museum at the place maintained by the State Government of Orissa, which houses a large number of sculptures. Besides the Brahmanical deities, there are also Buddhist and Jaina images in the collection. We have already referred to an inscription engraved on the pedestal of an Avalokitesvara image, which refers itself to the reign of Rayabhanja. There is also a beautiful image of Dhyani Buddha with a representation of the Bodhi-tree above his head. Among the Brahmanical images mention may be made of the colossal images of Siva's Dvarapalas, Chanda and Prachanda, Arddhanarisvare, Hara-Parvati, Ganesa, Visnu etc. The museum also houses some most beautiful *alasa-kanyas* which evidently formed parts of some smaller temples no longer in *situ*. In the courtyard of the museum several sculptured parts of some smaller temples have been preserved. The Saiva shrine of Khiching seems to have originally eight temples of which seven *lingams* are still to be traced at the place and one is known to have taken to a village known as Kesaribeda in the neighbourhood of Khiching and enshrined there in a new temple. The largest temple, now rebuilt, was originally a Saiva shrine probably enshrining the colossal image of Arddhanarisvara now preserved in the museum. The Bhanja rulers later

changed their faith and so, the present deity of the great temple, which is a Chamunda, came to be the presiding deity of the place.

The sculptures and the temples of Khiching, even though they have followed the general characteristics of the Bhubaneswar ones, have some specialities of their own. None of the temples had a *Mukhasala* or a porch, recognized to be an indispensible part of a shrine in the temple structures of tenth-eleventh century A.D. In this respect the Khiching temples share this characteristic with the temples of the Bankura district and the temples that once existed at Venisagar in the Singhbhum district, which is only four miles from Khiching The sculptures of Khiching were the products of a local school of art which followed in general lines the art characteristics of Bhubaneswar, but had the specialities of its own. The temples and sculptures of the place are all found in blue fine-grained chlorite, which is of more enduring nature and capable of receiving finer ornamentations. All competent critics are agreed that temples and sculptures of Khiching are amongst the finest products of Orissan art and architecture. The temples restored and rebuilt by the late Maharaja Sir Pratap Chandra Bhanj Deo, are now in the best state of preservation,

The archaeological remains of Venisagara referred to above, clearly indicate that the temples and sculptures of Khiching and this place were contemporary and analogous. At Venisagara there were also eight Saiva temples of which none has come down to us, but each has left its sculptures and a *lingam*. The tefnples at Venisagara too had no porches. The present writer wrote an article entitled *The Archaeological Remains at Venisagar* in the *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, Vol. XLII, in which he has explained the correlation of the archaeological remains of both Khiching and Venisagara. At Khekparta near Lohardaga in the Ranchi district there is an ancient temple standing on a hillock, which is characterized by the Orissan spire, sculptural decorations and the *paga* arrangements similar to those of the Orissan temples. It was also an *astayatana* Saiva shrine and besides the main temple there are still seven miniature shrines at the foot of the hill. The present writer has noticed in the Simdega Sub-division of the Ranchi district several small stone temples which have also followed the Orissan temple style. Evidently the Orissan temple style travelled far beyond the limits of Orissa.

Mukhalingam : The temple style of Orissa also travelled beyond its limits in the south. In this connexion Dr. Dehejia makes the following

observation about the Madhukesvara temple of Mukhaligam situated in the Srikakulam district of Andhra :

"The vibrantly sculptured, large *astaparivara* Madhukesvara temple stands at Mukhalingam on the banks of the Vamsadhara river. It is situated today in north-Andhra, but its architectural designs and its decorative features certainly warrant its inclusion in the Orissa group, although it displays certain features that set it apart form the standard Orissa temple (*The Early Stone Temples of Orissa, 1978 p. 92*").

The *Rathas* of Mahavalipuram and the early Pallava temples of Kanchi certainly existed in the south when the Gangas built their temples at Mukhalingam, but Gangas chose the Kalinga-type for erecting their monuments at the place. As Dr. Dehejia observes, in all the four temples still to be found here, they have all-followed the Orissan type of architecture. Of the three standing at the foot of the hill, the Mukhalingesvara was the main shrine, but it has been rebuilt in such a way that its original form has been lost. It has a three-chambered porch with several inscriptions on its walls, one of which refers to Jatesvara *alias* Kamarnnava, son and successer of Chodaganga, who ruled form A.D. 1147 to 1156 (*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXI, Verse 10 P. 163). From this epigraph it is evident that the temple existed in the middle of the twelfth century A.D., but it seems to have been erected much earlier. There are smaller shrines in the compound dedicated to the *dikpalas* such as Agni, Varuna etc. The main temple appears to be greater in height than the Brahmesvara temple at Bhubaneswar.

The Madhukesvara temple seems to be the earliest monument of the place. When the present writer visited it in 1969 it was covered with a thick coat of plaster, but recently it has been removed and its features have been fully described by Dr. Dehejia. The front facade, now fully exposed, reveals the decorative designs similar to those on the front facade of the Parasuramesvara. It may be dated back to the seventh or eighth century A.D.

The temple of Somesvara is a small *pancharatha* structure with no porch. On the *sikhara* of the front facade there is a well-preserved Nataraja quite similar to the ones to be found in the Muktesvara temple at Bhubaneswar. The cult images to be still found on the structure are similar to those of the Muketasvara. As in the Muktesvara the figures of the bearded Saiva ascetics with *yogapattas* tied to their knees, are

found on the *vadas* In the *gandi* the *bhumis* are marked by *hafl-amalaks*. All these evidences indicate that the Somesvara is not far removed in date from the Muktesvara which was built in the tenth century.

Mukhalingam was the early capital of the Gangas and the architectural style and tradition that grew up here were later utilised by the Ganga rulers in building their temples in Orissa when they transferred their capital to Cuttack. When Chodaganga conquered Orissa about 1110 A.D., Orissa had already a long tradition in the temple building. The Ganga builders combined the architectural features of Mukhalingam with those of Bhubaneswar and Jajpur and produced most massive, compact and strong temples, but the arch-type of the combination remained essentially Orissan in form.

Ranipur-Jharial : It is situated in the Titlagarh Sub-division of the Bolangir district. According to the local tradition the place had originally one hundred and twenty temples, but when Mr. Beglar visited it in 1874-75 there were fifty-seven temples in various stage of preservation (Cunningham's *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, Vol. XIII, pp. 128-132). Ranipur-Jharial may aptly be described as the Bhubaneswar of the Patna-Sambalpur region. The Somesvara, the largest stone temple of the place, contains an inscription of Gagansivacharya which has already been referred to in Chapter XVII under Section Saivism. Mr. K. N. Mahapatra has thrown considerable light on the origin of this shrine (*The Orissa Historical Research Journal* Vol, III, No. 2, pp. 65-75). This temple and other smaller ones still existing here in ruined condition were no doubt the structures of the early Somavamsi period and may be assigned to the ninth-tenth century A.D. The place became famous under the name of Somatirtha and found mention in the *Vamana Purana*. It was predominantly a Saiva shrine, but there were also Vaisnava and Sakta temples here, of which the temple of sixty-four *yoginis* is most remarkable. The temple of sixty-four *yoginis* is a rare monument of the plach and the other examples are to be found at Bheraghat near Jabalpur, at Khajuraho in Bundelkhand and at Hirapur near Bhubaneswar.

Vaidyanatha : The place is about eight miles from Sonepur in the Bolangir district. The temple of Kusalesvara standing in ruined condition is a most remarkable monument. There is also another temple known as Kalesvara standing on the bank of the river Tel in the close vicinity of the Kusalesvara. The Kalesvara is a *pancharatha* temple and is similar to the Muktesvara of Bhubaneswar. its niches, the Naga and

Nagi columns, scroll works, *alasa kanyas and half-amalakas* on the *gandi* provide clear evidences that the temple was built about tenth century A.D on account of the erosion caused by the river its foundations have already been affected and it will not maintain its existence for long, if it is not protected. The main shrine of the Kusalesvara has been rebuilt and in the process its originality has been lost, but the porch stands in comparatively good state of preservation. It does not follow the type of architecture that we find in the porches of the Orissan temple. In building the porch, the builders certainly followed the Central Indian style and not the Orissan style. The porch still contains the marvellous images of dancing Ganesa, dancing Siva, Hari-Hara, Sesasayi Visnu, Kartikeya riding on peacock and the *alasa-kanyas* such as the female with a mirror, the female with a parrot sitting on a stand, mother with child etc. These images do not follow the iconographic and stylistic features of the similar images to be found on the other temples of Orissa. These exotic features led Dr. Charles Fabri to think that the monument was a very early one, but there are clear evidences to show that it was built by the Telgu Choda ruling family of Sonepur towards the last part of the eleventh century A.D. There is a clear reference in one copperplate record that Vaidyanatha (now known as Kusalesvara) was the titulary deity of the Telgu Choda ruling family (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 284). There is also still a piece of stone used for preparing sandal-paste for the deity, which contains the inscription *Chhindakasya* in the script of eleventh-twelfth century A.D. We have already discussed the history of the Telgu Choda family of Sonepur and have shown that they were originally the feudatories of the Chhindaka Naga rulers of Bastar. The Sonepur region was held by them as a part of their kingdom. The above-mentioned stona seems to have been donated to the temple by a member of the Chhindaka Naga family of Bastar.

The Prachi Valley : About this valley of the Puri district Prof. G. S. Das makes the following observation :

"The Prachi is one of the oldest rivers in the coastal region of Orissa and is considered to be the most sacred by the Orissan people. It has its origin from the river Mahanadi in the obscure past and while surveying its dead course towards the source we observed that originally it branched off the Mahanadi close to Daka-amba about two and half miles north-west of the historic medieval fort of Sarangagarh. It has now been completely silted up at the place of its orgin where one can notice

today large sand dunes and lagoon-like pools in the midst of forest. The silting up of the Prachi might have given rise at the close neighbourhood to a branch river Katjori which, as the name indicates, was originally a small streamlet that could be bridged with the help of wooden planks."

Prof. G. S. Das has published the results of his explorations in the valley of this dried up river in his monograph *Exploration of the Prachi Valley*, 1958. The explorations revealed a number of ancient temples and a number of Brahmanical and Buddhist sculptures in the area. A list of most important ancient temples is given below :

Svapnesvara : It is standing at Adasapur in an utterly ruined condition. It has a small tower with a small *amalaka* crowning the top. Prof. Das assigns it to the seventh century A.D. which does not seem to be far from truth. Although the monument does not bear sculptures, its structure indicates that it was still in the formative stage.

The temple of Laksmi Nrisimha at Amaraprasadagarh : It is also in the decadent stage and we may agree with Prof. Das in assigning it to the eighth century A. D.

The Gramesvara temple at Lataharana : It is assigned to the ninth century A. D.

The Isvaranath temple at Jiunti : It has been assigned to the ninth-tenth century A. D.

The Bahana temple : The Bahana temple that stands at Jiunti, is now in an utterly ruined condition. It also seems to be one of the earliest temples of Orissa.

The Varahi temple at Chaurasi : We have already spoken of its age and characteristics.

Besides the above temples the sculptural remains of the runined temples are also to be traced in the different parts of valley. They are to be found in the area in large or small collections, and in these collections the Buddhist and Jaina images are also to be seen.

Ayodhya : Situated in the Nilagiri Sub-division of the Balasore district Ayodhya contains important Buddhist ruins which have not yet been properly noticed. The outskirts of the village are dotted with low mounds indicating that several small Buddhist shrines existed here, and

when they were ruined the best images from them have been removed and kept at several places of the village. One important collection of Buddhist images is to be found in the private custody of a village and the magnificent images of Tara and Marichi have become the common property of the villages. Marichi image contains an inscription recording the well-known Buddhist creed *ye dharma hetu prabhava* etc. in the script or the eleventh-twelfth century A. D. Evidently the monuments of the place belong to that period. The private collection mentioned above, contains several beautiful images of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas and ond panel depicts the birth scene of Gautama Budhha. All the images to be found in the village are like those of Kiching in Mayurbhanj, the most beautiful products of a local school of art. One small image of Avalokitesvara was taken from the collection by the present writer and preserved in the Orissa State Museum. The products of the school of art are also to be seen in the Nilagiri town itself. One modern temple there contains on its wall some Mahayana Buddhist images of considerable beauty and of important inconographic interest. Evidently the Nilagiri area was dominated in the eleventh-twelfth century A.D. by a Mahayana school of art.



Other Centres of Art

Narendrapur : The village Narendrapur near Gadi in the Balasore district has still some ruins of archaeological interest. A huge image of Varahi which is as large as the one now preserved in the compound of Sub-divisional Officer's quarter at Jajpur, is the presiding deity of the place, but it has also several Siva lingams and ruined shrines.

Palia : The village Paiia of the Balasore district has still a temple of the sun already referred to. It seems to be a monument of the eleventh century. Its door jambs contains most beautiful sculptures.

Kupari : It is situated in the Bhadrak Sub-division at a distance of about nine miles from Agarapara. Mr. John Beams, who visited the place in 1871 A.D., refers to certain Buddhist monuments and images there, but the present writer who visited the place in 1951 found nothing of Buddhist origin. All temples and images still to be found here are Brahmanical, some miniature temples of Siva, one Visnu image, one open hall with six monolithic laterite pillars, one beautiful image of Durga clearly exhibiting the Bhauma characteristics of art and

iconography and two broken slate plaques are the main archaelogical objects of the place. All of them are of Brahmanical character. So Mr. John Beam's description of them published in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. XL, 1871 p. 247 cannot now be accepted. We have already observed that Kupari is a corruption of Komparaka mentioned as one of the donated villages referred to in the Neulpur Copper Plate Grant of Subhakaradeva I. The archaeological remains of the place evidently belong to the eighth century A.D.

Mahantipada : The village Mahantipada is in the close neighbourhood of Agarapada. It has a Saiva temple which has been modernized, but in front of the shrine there is a beautiful bull, made of blue chlorite, the pedestal of which contains an inscription referring itself to the seventh *anka* of Gajapati Purusottamadeva. The inscription also gives out that the bull was donated to Linganathdeva by Kesavaji Das on the day of *Asadha Sukla Guruvara*, evidently falling in the seventh *anka* or the fifth regnal year of the aforesaid Gajapati.

Vaidakhia : Situated on the border of Anandapur and Bhadrak Sub-divisions, it has still a large number of Jaina images.

Khadipada : Reference has already been made to this place from which six large-sized Buddhist images were removed to the Orissa State Museum. One of them, an Avalokitesvara Padmapani, contains an inscription referring itself to the reign of Sabhakaradeva I. There was not doubt a Buddhist temple or a *stupa* at the place, We have already stated that Gohiratikara, a site in the close neighbourhood of Khadipada, was the capital of the Bhauma-karas. The place is only five miles from Jajpur.

Remuna : The temple of Ksirachora Gopinatha that stands here at a distance of about eight miles from Balasore, is a modern one; but the image of Gopinatha is certainly much older than the time of Sri Chaitanya who visited it as is evidenced by the Gaudiya Vaisnava literature. The deity had originally no image of Radha associated with it. It is not unlikely that an exploration or excavation in the area will bring to light the remains of an earlier temple which has been replaced by a modern one.

The Bhadrakali Shrine : It is situated at a distance of about five miles from Bhadrak. We have already referred several times to an

inscription found here and assignable to the third century A.D. which refers to Parnnadevati, evidently the earlier name of the deity now known as Bhadrakali. An exploration in the area is likely to bring to light the archaeological remains of a very early date.

Sola apura : It is about seven miles to the east of Jajpur and it contains a number of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures. It is already stated that Solanapura is one of the two villages granted to a number of Brahmins by Subhakaradeva I of the Bhauma dynasty in his Neulpur Copper Plate Grant. It is also mentioned in the Ratnagiri Charter of Karnnadeva, the last king of the Somavamsi dynasty, as the place of residence of Karpura-sri, his erstwhile queen. It is a historical place which is likely to provide materials for the history of the Bhauma and Somavamsi dynasties.

Hatadiha : It is in the close neighbourhood of Jajpur and has. still a colossal image of a Jaina Tirthankara already referred to. The image must have originally a shrine, the remains of which are likely to be discovered in the area.

Dharmasala area : Several villages of the Dharmasala Police Station in the Cuttack district contain the Brahmanical and Buddhist archaeological remains which have not yet been properly examined. On the Duburi hill in the close neighbourhood of Niladeipura *sasana* there was a Buddhist *stupa* of which about fifteen railing pillars with sockets in them and one coping stone are still to be found here with a head of ruins close by. There is also a fragment of a stone door jamb-decorated with dwarfs climbing up a creeper and conventional lotus buds and wavy scrolls.

At Daksina *sasana* not far from Niladeipura the temple of Vatsesvara stands and in its precincts a small image of Varaha lifting the earth, a *Mukhalingam* with four faces sculptured on it, a beautiful Garuda image and a beautiful Ganesa image are still to be found. According to the local tradition Kapilendradeva, the founder of the Suryavamsi dynasty, established the *sasana* and built two templ s, one for Visnu and the other for Siva. The archaeological remains here support the local tradition. At Uttara *sasana* the temple of Kapilesvara is found to have been built on the ruins of an ancient one. It has still the images of Ganesa and Durga of the early temple, but the most interesting sculpture of the place is a panel containing an elephant procession. A royal figure is seen mounted on the biggest elephant

with a parasol held over his head by an attendant sitting by him. There are three other elephants in the panel which follow the biggest one with riders on each. The temple of Gokarnnesvara on the river Brahmani not far from Dharmasala, has practically become a museum of Brahmanical and Buddhist images. It has the Brahmanical images like Kartikeya, Ganesa, Nrisimha, Varaha and Sri Krisna with *gopis* and also the Buddhist images like Avalokitesvara, Parnna-savari, Dhyani-Buddha, Tara and some Buddhist Tantrik images not yet identified. The collection of the sculptures to be found in the Gokarnnesvara compound was made by the Raja of Madhupur, who evidently brought them from the Ratnagiri area and the neighbouring villages. At the village Chahata, not far from Dharmasala, there was a group of Sapta-matrikas almost in tact and with important iconographic features. The entire group has been removed to and preserved in the Orissa State Museum. A brief survey of the archaeological remains of the Dharmasala area reveals that the locality had considerably building activities during the periods of the Bhaumas, Somavamsis and Suryavamsis.

The Lower Brahmani Valley : We have already referred to the colossal image of Ananta-sayi Visnu, measuring thirty-two feet in length, which has been carved on the stony bed of the river Brahmani at Sarang near Talcher. We have also spoken of the colossal image of Visnu measuring fifty-one feet and six inches in length, which is to be found at Bhimkand, eighteen miles from Talcher. The temple of Svapnesvara near Talcher has also already been noticed. Along the valley of the Brahmani the important centres of art like the Ratnagiri area and the Dharmasala area also flourished and they too have been briefly noticed above.

Amaravati : There is still a shrine known as Amaravati or Indrasthana at a place in the neighbourhood of Chhatia, which still contains the beautiful images of Indra and Indrani and also some Buddhist sculptures that seem to have belonged originally to the Ratnagiri area and to the Bhauma age. The images of Indra and Indrani however bear the characteristics of the late Somavamsi age or the early Ganga period. We have already seen that Amaravati is one of the five important *Katakas* or forts established by Chodaganga. Close to Indrasthana the ruins of a fort are still to be found. Not far from Amaravati the beautiful Visnu temple of Jalauka, already noticed, is to be found. At Ganesvarapur in the close neighbourhood of Jalauka the remains of an ancient temple, evidently built in the Ganga period, are also to be seen.

Salipur Area : Along the bank of the river Chitrotpala which flows in the neighbourhood of Salipur, important Buddhist remains consisting on Buddhist image and structural remains, are to be traced. Of late the area was excavated by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, which resulted in the discovery of important antiquities not yet published. At the village Vatesvara on the Chitrotpala a beautiful image of Mahisamardini which seems to have originally belonged to a shrine, is to be seen. At Kisanapur the historic temple of Chatesvara, which is definitely a beautiful monument of the Ganga period, is to be found. It had originally a commemorative inscription known to scholars as the Chatesvara Inscription ((*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XXIX, p. 125), which as already discussed, throws considerable light on the history of the Gangas. The temple was erected by Visnu, the Brahmin minister of Anangabhimadeva III, and it is under his orders that the commemorative inscription was engraved. Only two miles from Kisanapur in the north-westernly direction the remains of a Jagannatha temple is to be found at Gopinathapur. A commemorative inscription originally attached to the shrine is still to be found in the compound of the shrine. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXIX. 1901, p. 175). The inscription discloses that the temple was built by Gopinatha Mahapatra, a general of Kapilendradeva. The importance of the epigraph has alredy been discussed. It records the conquests of Kapilendradeva and also furnishes us with the important information that he was born in Udradesa or Orissa in Ksatriya family of the Solar Line.

. *Kendrapara* : Kendrapara. the Sub-divisional head quarter, had also an important collection of Buddhist and Brahmanical images in the possession of the local Zamindar family from which the late Mr. R. Chanda was allowed to take some specimens to the Indian Museum, Calcutta. Similarly there was also a collection of sculptures, evidently taken from the Ratnagiri area, in the possession of the local Zamindar of Mahanga. A most beautiful image of Avalokitesvara is the noteworthy image of the place. which is to be seen at the door of a modern temple.

The Jhankara area : The famous shrine of Sarala that stands at Jhankara, has at present a modern temple, but there is also a ruined shrine not far from it, which is pointed out by the local people as the original seat of the goddess. The present writer has seen the ruins and has come to the conclusion that the original shrine in all probability was constructed in the Bhauma epoch. The temple of Dharmesvara situated at the

village Pipalamadhava near Tirtol, also seems to be an earlier shrine and it still contains some sculptures much earlier to the date of the present temple. It has also a colossal image of Visnu known as Nila Madhava.

Chaudwar : Chaudwar was one of the five great forts built by Chodagangadeva and according to the tradition was the earliest capital of the Gangas in Orissa from which Anangabhimadeva III transferred it to the area now known as Barabati, situated on the other side of the river Mahanadi. Chauadwar seems to have originally a number of temples but they have all been ruined, leaving to us some structural and sculptural remains. In the shrine of Kapalesvara not far from the Textile Mills, a modern laterite temple is to be found The door jambs, the Navagraha slab, the image of Gaja-Lakami on the door sill and the images of Chanda and Prachanda with Ganga and Yamuna at the bottoms of the jambs all indicate that the earlier temple that once stood here, belonged to the early Ganga period. The *parsva-devatas* Kartikeya, Ganesa and Parvati, which have been utilised in the modern structure also furnish the iconographic piculiarites pointing to the same conclusion. The temple of Vaidyesvara which is to be found inside a Matha, now contains a few sculpture of an elder structure which seems to have belongen to the tenth century A.D, These sculptures of stone bear *kumbhas*, *kirttimukhas*, diamond-shaped designs and Gaja-Laksmi which have all their affinities with the earlier temples of Bhubaneswar. There is another shrine at Chaudwar known as Uttaresvara which was also a Saiva temple and which has come down to us in a comparatively good state of preservation. It is built of laterite but the door jambs and the lintel are of chlorite containing images and scrolls to similar those to be found in the Ganga monuments. There is also a monument at Chaudwar known as Vadhi or Parabhadi which represents a round and raised pillared hall with seven pillars of laterite still *in situ*. It appears to have been a Buhdhist shrine as its name Vadhi indicates. Vadhi seems to be a corruption of Bodhi.

The late Mr. P. Acharya observes in his *Odisar Pratnatattva O Anyana Pravandha* (Part I, Orissa Sahitya Akademy, 1969, P. 31) that he had seen at Chaudwar three masks of brass in 1927, of which one was removed to the Indian Museum, Calcutta; but when he next went to the place after some years he found no trace of the remaining two. Evidently they were sold or stolen away.

The Cuttack City : The city of Cuttack was the capital of the Gangas and of the subsequent ruling dynasties up to the end of Hindu

rule in Orissa in A.D. 1568. There is little doubt that the city had originally number of Hindu temples, but none has survived in its ancient form. A ramble through its different parts, however, reveals the existence of the sculptural and structural remains of the ancient temples, now used at latter fixations or kept in loose collections. Small modern shrines have cropped up in the various parts of this old city with these survivals as the objects of worship. There is no doubt that the fort of Barabati contained ancient temples, at least of the Ganga period. The Nagari Plates of Anangabhimadeva III refers to the erection of a Jagannatha temple here, which has not come down to us. Sarala Dasa refers to the Visvesvara temple on the bank of the Mahanadi at Varanasi (Cuttack), but on its site we now find a modern temple with the name Gadagadesvara. The parts of the earlier temples are found to have been used on the embankments on the both sides of the ditch which still surrounds the fort of Barabati. Toynbee records the removal of stones from the Barabati for building the False point, one hospital and the road leading to the Railway station. These stones seem to have originally belonged to the ancient temples. The survivals of the ancient monuments have also been used in comparatively later temples, an instance of which is to be found in the Raghunathaji temple of Cuttack. The earlier specimens, when closely examined, reveal the fact that they originally belonged to the temples of the Ganga period. One free-standing stone pillar with human figures standing cross-legged and with the *kirttimukhas* similar to those of the Bhauma temples, was discovered at Cuttack, and removed to the Orissa State Museum where it is to be found now. This piece of archaeological evidence indicates that the ancient monuments of the eighth-ninth century also existed at Cuttack. Evidently Cuttack was a place of importance even during the Bhauma rule in Orissa.

Niali : The village Niali is situated on the road that has branched off from the National Highway at Phulanakhara. The temple of Sobhanesvara existed here and had originally a commemorative inscription recording its erection during the Ganga a period (*Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVIII, 1931. p. 119 ff.). The poet Udayana who composed this epigraph was also the composer of the commemorative inscription attached to the temple of Maghesvara at Bhubaneswar, which was built by Syapnesvaradeva, the brother-in-law of the Ganga king Rajaraja II (A.D. 1170-1194). So, it is evident that the temple of Sobhanesvara was built towards the last part of the

twelfth century. In the village of Madhava there is a Jagannatha temple which is traditionally attributed to Anangabhimadeva III.

Patia : The temple of Sikhara-Chandi situated in the close neighbourhood of this village is found with a flat roof like the temples of the Gupta period, but bereft of sculptures, it does not provide definite evidence for ascertaining its age. At the village of Kalarahanga, an ancient temple is reported to be existing.

Chansathi Yogini Temple of Hirapur : Situated at a short distance from Bhubaneswar this unique temple remained unknown for long till it was discoved by Mr. Kedrnatha Mahapatra in 1952. Mr. Mahapatra also later published an article on the shrine in the *Orissa Historical Research Journal* with the photographic reproductions of the *Yoginis*. We have already referred to this monument and to a similar shrine at Ranipur-Jharial. One great difference between them is that the Hirapura *Yoginis* appear with their respective mounts, whereas Ranipur-Jharial images have no such attributes. The Hirapur images are the marvellous pieces of art and are comparable to those of the Brahmesvara and the Lingaraja and were evidently the creations of that period. It seems that the Somavamsi rulers, when they lived in Orissa, created this shrine or helped the creation of it in the model of the Ranipur-Jharial shrine which lay in their original seat of power.

The Dhauli Hill : We have already referred to the temple of Vahirangesvara situated on the western side of the Dhauli hill. All evidences still to be found on this temple, now restored, indicate that it was a monument of the Bhauma period. On the top of the eastern side of the hill a large ancient temple, now rebuilt and renovated, is to be found. The surviving evidences on the body of the temple clearly indicate that it was a contemporary of the Lingaraja and Brahmesvara group. A small modern temple by the side of the Vahirangesvara temple now houses a beautiful image of Ganesa as its presiding deity. This deity is strikingly similar to the image of Ganesa to be found in the southern niche of the Lingaraja temple as its *parsva-devata*, An inscription referring itself to the reign of Santikaradeva i still exists at Dhauli and provides a clear evidence that the building activities started here again from the reign of this Bhauma king.

The Konarka area : While discussing the history of Konarka we have already spoken of a number of Saiva and Śakta shrines situated in the area. The area is full of antiquities and systematic survey is

likely to result in the discovery of the remains of ancient temples and sculptures. About five miles of Konarka the archaeological remains north-east of the village Kuruma, were of late excaveted by the Department of Archaeology, Government of Orissa, which resuled in the discovery of the structural remains of a *stupa* and several Buddhist images. Near Nimapara on the road to Konarka the village Alaka is reported to have possessed a number of Brahmanical images.

The Khurda Area : In the neighbourhood of Khurda some ancient temples are reported to have existed, of which the temples of Somesvara at Budhapada and Gapinatha at Kakudia are worth mentioning.

The Banki area : The present temple of Charchchika is not very ancient, but the shrine is of a very early date. Dr. Mahatab mentions the existence of a very early temple of Mahisamardini at Vaidesvara in the area.

Banapur area : Dr. Charles Fabri in his *History of the Art of Orissa* gives the following account of the important Buddhist antiquities in the neighbourhood of Banapur.

"The other most interesting site is at Achitrajpur, about 1½ km. from the Banapur town in the district of Puri. Here, on a mound of ruins, obviously of a circular *stupa*, stands a modern temple, into which several ancient Buddhist images have been fixed, including the Buddha shown in Plate XXVI(p.44)." He also reports the existence of several votive stone *stupas* at the site and one image of Tara which has been taken from it to the Godavarish Vidyapitha not far from the modern temple of Achitrajpur. From Banapur a large number of metallic images of various Buddhist deities with lebels recording their names on their pedestals, were recently removed to the Orissa State Museum where they have been preserved. The site of the former Banapur High School was also the find spot of a set of copperplate of the Sailodbhava dynasty. The Daksa Prajapati temple of Banapur, as its architectural and sculptural features indicate, is a monument of the Ganga period. The presiding deity of the shrine is a *Bana-lingam*, a *sakti* without a *lingam*, which apparently gave the place the name Banapur. Ancient Naga images similar to those discovered at Bhubaneswar, are reported to have existed in the area of Banapur. At Ranpur the presiding deity, now worshipped under the name Mainaka Devi, is in reality an image of Mani Naga. The areas of Banapur and Ranapur are certainly the promising of sites for the discovery of archaeological remains going back to the first century B. C. or the first century A.D.

The Baudh area : We have already spoken of the temples at Gandharadi and Baudh. There is also shrine with the colossal image of a Dhyani Buddha built in sectins, which is definitely a Bhauma technique. We have suggested earlier that this shrine of the Buddha apparently gave place the name Baudh.

Nilamadhava of Kntilo : The present beautiful temple of the place in Khandapada does not seem to be ancient, but the shrine apparently represents an earlier site.

Banesvara Nasi : Banesvara Nasi of the former state of Narasimhapur is an important site where a large number of Buddhist and Bramanical images are still to be found.

Talmul in Angul : Here a ruined temple of Mahisamardini with some other archaeological remains is still to be found. The place has found mention as Talamura in the Taltali Plate of Dharmmamahadevi (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXI, No. 3,1945. p. 213). The archaeological remains of Talmul should therefore be assigned to the first half of the tenth century A. D.

Chaddha : The village situated about twenty-two miles from Sonepur and not far from Binika, contains the beautiful temple of Kapilesvara with beautiful sculptures. Binika has been identified by Hiralal with Vinitapura of the Somavamsi copperplate grants. Apparently temple of Kapilesvara belongs to the early Somavamsi period.

Saintala : The village of Saintala, situated at a distance of eight miles from Bolangir, contains the remains of ancient temples. The main site of archaeological interest is the temple of Chandesvari Thakurani. It is a modern temple, but it stands on a mound with the parts of stone temples buried or scattered all round. There were at least two ancient temples in the present site. This is proved by the two sets of door jambs of unequal length and width, now utilised in the modern temple. The site apparently belonged to the early Somavamsi period.

Belakhandi : Belakhandi, not far from Saintala, is situated in the former Kalahandi state. Here excavations were carried out by Mr. K. N. Mahapatra which resulted in the discovery of several Brahmanical images. Dr. Mahatab mentions rhe existence of a Siva temple at Mohanagiri in Kalahandi and assigns it to the eighth-ninth century A.D. (*Odisa Itihasa* I, 1977, p. 280).

Patnagarh : The place was once the capital of the former Patna state and contained a number of Hindu temples, of which the survivals have been used in the modern temples of the place. The late Mr. P. C. Rath in the *Journal of Kalinga Historical Research Society* Vol. II, No. 2 and 3 observes that the art specimens to be found here are similar to those of the Ratnagiri area in the Cuttack district.

Narasimhanatha : It is situated on the southern slope of the Gandhamarddana hill in Padmapur with an inscription in proto-Oriya characters referring itself to the reign of Vaijjaladeva during which it seems to have been built. The palaeography of the inscription indicates that Vaijjaladeva flourished in the fourteenth century A. D. It is a charming place and it has a special attraction to tourists.

Naikpada : The village is situated within a short distance from Badagaon which contains a very early temple already noticed in this Chapter. The village is about eight miles from Bhanjanagar in the Ganjam district. It has still a ruined temple and a very large number of Brahmanical images assignable to the tenth-eleventh century A.D.

Purusottamapur : This place, not far from Berhampur, has the most famous temple of Sundaramadhava which, according to tradition, was erected by the Gajapati Purusottamadeva (A.D. 1467-1497) to commemorate his victory over the king of Kanchi. The area has also several other temples, of which the Tumbesvara contains an inscription referring itself to the reign of Anangabhimadeva III.

Budhakhol : It is about five kilometres from Buguda and has Buddhist caves and images which seem to belong to a very early period. In the Ghumusar Sub-division there are a number of temples such as Viranchi-Narayana at Buguda, of Raghunath at Nalagaon, and of Buddhalingesvara at Sorada, but the dates of these monuments have not been properly determined. They all seem to have been built by the Bhanja rulers of Ghumusar.

The Krisnagiri hill : Situated between Khallikot and Athagarh the hill has a number of caves at its foot. The temples of Jhadesvara and Muktesvara are to be found here. At the entrance of the Muktesvara there is an inscription of Chodagangadeva, dated in the Saka year 1064 corresponding to 1142 A.D.

Palur : The famous temple of Batesvara stands at Palur which represents a most ancient city. On the basis of architectural and iconographic features the Batesvara may be assigned to the tenth century A.D.

Mahendragiri : We have observed earlier that the Gokarnnesvara shrine here may represent one of the earliest monuments of Orissa. In this area the temples of Yudhisthira, Arjuna, Bhima and Kunti are also to be found.

The above account of the monuments of the Ganjam district has been mostly taken from an article entitled *The Antiquities of Ganjam* published in the *Proceedings of the Orissa History Congress*, 1977, by Mr. A. K. Rath.

Nandapura : This was the capital of the Silavamsi rulers of Jayapur (Jeypore) and now contains a number of monuments noticed by Mr. Vidyadhar Singhdeo in his book *Nandapura*, Cuttack, 1939. Though the district of Koraput has a number of ancient monuments and sculptures, it has not yet been archaeologically surveyed.

The Jaina site at Subei : About the monuments of the site Dr. Dehejia makes the following observation in her *Early Stone Temples of Orissa* (p. 103) :

"Standing in picturesque isolation in the midst of scrub forest in the Koraput district is a Jaina monument near the village Subei. Within an oval enclosure with a low wall all alround, is a series of some ten small shrines, but the entire site is much damaged and only two of the shrines are still standing." After a study of the structural remains she comes to a conclusion that they belong to the earliest phase of temple-building in Orissa.

Paintings

The paintings on the perishable materials belonging to the pre-Muslim period in Orissa have not come down to us. The rock paintings at Manik Mada, Gudahandi, Yogimatha, Ulapgarh and Vikramkhol contain drawings in Red Ochre on bare stone surface representing hunting scenes, which are akin in style and execution to Mirjapur and Singhanpur that have received recognition. The paintings of some sort appear to have existed in the caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri, but they have all been effaced beyond recognition. The only mural painting that has survived in a tolerable state of preservation is to be found at Ravanachhaya at Sitabhinji in the Keonjhar district. We have already spoken of the importance of the remains of the paintings.

The paintings on the western wall of the *Jagamohana* of the Laksmi temple in the compound of the Jagannatha temple at Puri, seem to belong to the Ganga period. It depicts the victory of the Vaisnava

saint Ramanuja over the Buddhists in Orissa (D. N. Pathy—Souvenir, *Third Purba Bharat Sanskrutik Sammelan*, 1976, p. 122).

In Orissa we find at present plenty of *pata*-paintings, *ganjapas* and palm-leaf paintings but none of them can with certainty be assigned to the period covered by this work.

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19. Colonial and Cultural Expansion of Kalinga

Introduction : In the Sanskrit literature the people of Kalinga have been spoken of as brave (*Kalingah sahasikah*), evidently due to their martial character and maritime adventure. It is not known when the coastal people of Kalinga and also of other parts of India began their maritime activities and cultural expansion, but it seems that by the third century B. C , when Asoka conquered Kalinga, Kalinga had already acquired wealth and power through maritime trade and colonial expansion. Kalinga was the last country to resist and challenge the growing imperialism of Magadha and its resistance at the time of Asoka when the whole of India including Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Kashmir and Nepal was within the Magadha empire, indicates that it was great in resources though small in extent. The stubborn resistance offered by the people of Kalinga to the growing imperialism of Magadha cost them, in the words of Asoka, one lakh of persons killed, one lakh and fifty thousand carried away as prisoners and many more that number dying of starvation and disease that followed in the wake of the terrible war fought in 261 B. C. The overall picture presented by Asoka's description of the Kalinga war leads us to the conclusion that Kalinga was great in power and resources, which were apparently derived from its maritime trade and oversea colonies, of which no history is available to us. Again after the Kalinga War, Kalinga played the part of an aggressor against the Magadhan empire within a century or so in the reign of *Kalingadhipati Mahameghavahana* Kharavela, who attacked Magadha twice, humiliating the Magadhan king Vahasatimita and bringing back to Kalinga the honoured seat of Kalinga Jina on the second occasion. The persistent rivalry between the small kingdom of Kalinga and the mighty Magadhan empire shows that the former derived its power from the seas, which enabled it to continue its struggle against the latter.

Since the time of the Buddha, if not earlier, the trade intercourse between India and some Asiatic countries is indicated by the life story of the Buddha himself. The two traders who met Gautama

Buddha at Bodh Gaya and were the first to receive his recepts, are said to have been the Udras or the Burmese. The Buddhist *Jataka* stories, the story book *Vrihat-Katha* and Kautilya's *Artha-Sastra* refer to India's maritime trade and foreign products. The Puranas, particularly the *Agni Purana*, give us the Indian names of some islands in South-East Asia. The Buddhist text *Niddesa* (the second century A. D.) describes the life story of an adventurer and the various difficulties and torments that a sea-sailor experiences. The Sanskrit drama *Kaumudi-Mahotsava* similarly speaks of the advantures of a sea-sailor. The *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* mention the products of Burma and the Malaya Penninsula. The Allahabad Pillar Inscription of Samudragupta refers to Ceylone and other islands.

Factors leading to maritime activities : Thus from the early times the Indian peoples, among whom the people of Kalinga were one, were engaged in maritime activities. The factors that motivated such activities were many. The lure of foreign trade was no doubt the main factor, but to this we should add the spirit of adventure, the establishment of colonies and kingdoms and the spread of religion and culture. The pressure of the population in some parts of India sometimes led to the migration of people to foreign lands from such parts. As a result of this vast process lasting for several centuries Indian culture and colonization spread to Ceylone, Burma, Malaya Penninsula, Siam, Kambuja, Java, Sumatra, Borneo, Bali etc. The History of greater India was practically unknown until quite late in the first part of the twentieth century when the painstaking researches of some scholars have thrown welcome light on this otherwise dark aspect of the Indian history. They have studied the archaelogical remains of these foreign countries, particularly the inscriptions often found in Indian script and language, and the existing monuments providing affinities with similar Indian monuments. They have also studied the names, languages, customs, manners and religions of these countries and have discovered links with their Indian prototypes. The result has been the widening of the scope of the Indian history in which the cultural contributions of India to other parts of Asia had hitherto remained unknown. In building up a greater India, the Indians of the entire coastal line, *viz*. of Gujarat, Malbar, Tamilnadu, Andhra, Kalinga and Banga made their respective contributions and it is not always possible to escertain the share of each in such contributions. We are to deal here with the share of Kalinga as it has been ascertained and accepted by scholars.

Activities in Burma : The people of Kalinga (Orissa) entered into lower Burma in large numbers, settled there permanently, changing even the names of cities and some parts of Burma. The change that took place in Burma as the result of a steady flow of immigrants from Orissa, have been very aptly described by Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray in his *Brahmanical Gods in Burma* (pp. 84-85).

"In Thalon i.e., the ancient Rammanadesa, the land *par excellence* of the Tailangas, the Indian, at least the Brahmanical elements, was imported decidedly from Orissa, the ancient Odra or Kalinga. The ancient name attributed to old Prome is Srikshetra, so often mentioned in the Mon records as Sikset or Srikset, and by the Chinese pilgrims as Si-li-cha-ta-lo; and Srikshetra is the holy land of Puri on the ancient Kalinga coast. The name Srikshetra given to old Prome may be apocryphal, but attribution itself is significant, however late it may be. The old name for Pegu is Ussa which is but a form of Odra or Orissa. It is difficult to disbelieve that Pegu colonized from Orissa or was once dominated by a people who migrated from Orissa. Indeed these classical names are but survivals of actual colonization from the original countries inhabited by the colonists themselves. The latter authorities who used those names did not satisfy their whims alone but their origins. Lower Burma is the land of a people who were and are still called "Tailangas". The term used as early as 1107 A.D. in Mon records is but a deviation of 'Telingana' or 'Trikalinga' a name used to mean almost the whole of the Andhra-Kalinga zone. Likewise the earliest colonization of the Malaya Peninsula and Java had probably been made from Kalinga, for the Hindus of the Peninsula and the islands were and are still known as 'Kling'.

The same scholar also discussed in detail the indebtedness of the Burmese art to the Indian art, particularly to the Orissan art :

"It was this intercourse of Pagan with the outside world that inaugurated the classical period of the history of Burma. Emigrants from all parts of India, Eastern India and Orissa, the Chola country and Ceylone as well as the colonies began to pour in incessantly in the wake of mainly trade and commerce. Her innumerable monuments, when closely analysed and examined, reveal influences from Bengal on one side and Orissa on the other (p. 36)."

"Figure No. 2 which shows an artistic combination of Indian and local elements and is undoubtedly one of the best of the early stone

sculptures found in Burma, seems to belong on artistic grounds to an earlier period, most probably to the first half of the eighth century A.D. The two examples from Thalon, now housed in the Rangoon Museum, are decidedly Indian in form and composition as also in execution, done no doubt locally by Indian artist or by artists trained under Indian masters. They seem to have very intimate artistic affinities with the most recent finds of Brahmanical and Mahayanist divinities from Orissa by Rai Bahadur Rama Prasad Chanda, B. A., now housed in the Indian Museum (p. 47)."

"Bas-relief (Fig. 20) in high technical as well as artistic efficiency brings out in prominent relief its affinity with the early medieval sculptures of Orissa (pp. 57-58)."

The extent of Orissa's contributions to the cultural expansion of Indian in Burma can easily be imagined from the above observations. Srikshetra with the capital Prome became a stauch Hindu kingdom and the kings of the Hindu ruling family that established itself there, bore such names as Hari-Vikrama, Simha-Vikrama and Surya-Vikrama, which are distinctly Indian names and which are found in the Burmese inscriptions both in Sanskrit and Pali. As a result of Indian colinization both Brahmanical Hinduism and Buddhism flourished side by side in Burma, but it is the Mahayana form of Buddhism that ultimately gained scendancy over the Brahmanical Hinduism.

Kalinga's activities in other countries : Malay Peninsula, Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali, the group of island situated in South-East Asia, and also the Malaya Peninsula received from early times streams of Indian immigrants but by the later half of the eighth century A. D. when an empire built by the Sailendra dynasty, that included these islands and the Malaya Peninsula, the streams were at their height. A common geographical name Suvarnadvipa was applied to Malayasia. Many scholars are of the opinion that the Sailendras were a branch of the Sailodbhava dynasty that ruled in Orissa in the seventh century A.D. "Another significant fact about this time is the adoption of a new name, Kalinga, for Malayasia at least by foreigners (*The age of Imperial Kanauja*. Vidya Bhavan. p. 414)." The Chinese called the islands Holing which is a transcript of Kalinga and as Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray observes, the Hindus of the Malaya Peninsula and Java were and are still known as "Kling" which is a variant of Kalinga It will thus appear that, although colonists from different parts of India entered into the Malay Peninsula and this group of islands the colonists from Kalinga predominated among them. Since the

Sailendra dynasty of Orissa established a vast empire in South-East Asia, the people of the home land of the imperial dynasty must have been encouraged to migrate into these parts in large numbers, changing in course of time their culture and religion including their original names.

The Sailendra Empire : The history of Sailendra empire is very imperfectly known, but the names of some kings of the dynasty, that are known to us from inscriptions, clearly show their Indian origin. Such names of the Sailendra kings as Maharajadhiraja Visnu, Dharanindra, Sangrama Dhananjaya, Samaragra-Vira and Balaputra-deva are no doubt purely Sanskritic. The accounts of the Arab writers of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D. testify to the prosperity of the empire and refer to its naval supremacy which controlled the sea-borne trade between China and western countries. It is the maritime trade that made the people of the empire prosperous. The empire maintained trade relations with China and references to it are to be found in the Chinese annals. The Sailendras introduced a new type of alphabet which was of Indian origin and built splendid monuments in Java such as Barabudur, which is still one of the finest monuments of the world.

As a result of the steady colonization of South-East Asia a new type of civilization which is definitely of the Indian origin prevailed there. It is difficult to ascertain the exact share of the Kalingan people in the rise of this new civilization in Greater India, but it is to be presumed that they had a large share in it.

Society : The Indian colonists introduced the caste system into these regions, but it took a different form there. The society was mainly divided into the four castes viz the Brahmanas, Kshatriyas, Vaisyas and Sudra, but the numerous sub-castes to be found in India were not its feature. The caste system was not rigid and intermarriage was permitted among the four orders, but this permission was subject to the rules to be found in the Indian *Smritis*. Accordingly, "While a man may marry a girl of his own or lower caste, a woman may only marry one of equal or higher casts (*The Age of Imperial Kanauja*, p. 433)." The Sudras were not despised or considered untouchable. The Brahmins were not unquestionably superior to all other castes; their superiority being very often challenged by the Kshatriyas. Women occupied a respectable position in the society, enjoyed a great deal of freedom, had no *purdu* and used to have a say in the choice of their husbands. Though monogamy was

the prevalent type of marriage, polygamy also existed. Both men and women did not cover the upper parts of their bodies. In the island of Bali women do not use upper garments even today.

Religion : Both Hinduism and Buddhism, the two great religions of India, prevailed side by side in these colonies. The Brahmanical gods like Brahma, Visnu and Siva were being worshipped and the composite forms of the gods such as Tri-murti and Siva-Visnu were also known. As a matter of fact the whole of the Puranic pantheon was known to these regions. Arrangement existed for the recital of such sacred texts as the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas*. Other sacred texts, both of Hinduism and Buddhism, were also being studied. At present Islam has predominated in Java, Borneo and Sumatra, but Bali still maintains its old religion and culture.

The art : The art of Java where we still find a large number of magnificent monuments, was definitely influenced by Indian art The plain square interiors, vestibules, diminishing storeys and turrets which are some of the characteristics of the Javanese temples, have affinities with the similar features of Indian temples. Some favourite motifs of the Indian temples such as *makaras* and *Kirtimukhas* are also to be found in the decorative art of Javanese temples. The most notable Javanese monument to be found at Barabudur, which still excites the wonder and admiration of the world, is unique in conception, though the subject matters of its decorations are Indian in origin. The monument consists of six terraces of which the lower three are square and the upper three circular. The sculptured panels of the stupendous monument, which number about 1500, mostly depict the life of Gautama Buddha and *Jataka* stories. It was built during the period of the Sailendra supremacy towards the close of the eighth or beginning of ninth century A.D.

Literature Inscriptions frequently refer to the different branches of literature such as philology, philosophy, political science and epics. The authors of the inscriptions show an admirable knowledge in all branches of the Indian literature such as the Vedas, Vedantas, Puranas, Dharmasastras, Buddhist and Jaina texts, grammar, metre etc. The perfect type of knowledge exhibited by the authors of the inscriptions, indicates that they maintained close contact with the land of their origin.

Orissan traditions relating to maritime activities : **We have already observed that the exact share of Kalinga's contributions to the**

growth of a vast culture in South-East Asia cannot be determined. In Orissa itself the history of its maritime activities and cultural expansion has been completely forgotten, though reminiscences of the sea voyages still cling to the folk-lore of the land. Numerous stories speak of the merchants (Sadhavas) who went on sea voyages with their flotilla (*boitas*) and returned home with treasures. In the month of *Bhadrava* (August-September) a particular festival known *Khudurakuni Osa,* is observed throughout Orissa, and at the end of it a story is recited to those who observe fast during the occasion The story relates to a merchant family consisting of seven brothers and only one sister named Tapoi who was the youngest of all. The seven brothers, after entrusting their beloved sister to the care of their wives, went on a sea voyage with their flotilla (*boitas*). and after a long period of absence returned home with their boats filled with treasures. Their wives welcomed them at the port by burning lamps and blowing conch-shells, but to their surprise the brothers did not see their beloved sister in the company of their wives. On enquiry they came to know that, because of the ill-treatment of all her sisters-in-law except the youngest one, Tapoi had left home in a miserable condition The brothers took prompt steps to bring her back and to punish all their wives, except the wife of the youngest brother who had been kind to their sister. But alas, on the moment of her victory Tapoi breathed her last. It is said that the particular festival referred to above originated since the day of her death. Another story relates how the son of a king forcibly took away Lilavati, the beautiful wife of a merchant, while he was absent on a sea voyage.

Many stories like the ones mentioned above, still current in Orissa, are reminiscent of the sea voyage of the by-gone days. There are also certain customs peculiar to Orissa, which appear to be reminiscent of ancient sea voyages. On the full-moon day of *Kartika* (October-November). while taking their bath in rivers and tanks in the morning, all Oriyas, men and women, have even now the custom of floating miniature boats made of the barks of the plantain trees or of paper with the lamps burning inside them. The custom appears to be symbolic of the sea voyage which was generally being undertaken in the month of *Kartika* when the rainy season comes to a close.

The different kinds of commodities in which the ancient people of Orissa used to trade in foreign countries, are not known to us. One kind of pumpkin, known as *boitikakkharu* or *boitalu* in Orissa, which, as its name indicates, was certainly a sea-borne vegetable brought from foreign countries in *boita* or boats. This vegetable known as *Kumda* in

Bengal and *Kadu* in north India, has acquired a permanent place among the vegetables and is used even in the temple of Jagannatha at Puri, indicating its entry into Orissa at a remote time. It is to be noted that the vegetables of recent arrival, such as potatoes, tomatoes, cabbages etc. are not used in the offerings of the Jagannatha temple.

References in Arab and Persian Geographies : The Arab and Persian writers of the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. throw interesting and welcome light on the sea ports and sea-borne trade of Orissa during this period. ibn Khurdadhbih, Ibn Rusta and the anonymous author of *Hudud al Alam* refer to the Bhauma kingdom of Orissa in the ninth-tenth century A.D. and tell us that the Bhauma ruler maintained a large army of 300, 000 men and did not consider anybody superior to himself. They mention, as already shown in Appendix III, the main parts of the kingdom as Mahisya (Midnapore), Jharkhand (hilly tracts), Orissa (Orissa proper), Ganjam (South Orissa) and Andhra (a part of the Telgu-speaking territoty), and speak of the main ports such as Kalinganagar, Ganjam, Keylkan, Al-Lava and Nubin of which the last three have not been identified. About the main products of Orissa we are told that "Extremely large elephants are found here, such as in no other part of India. From it come large quantities of pepper and rotang. In no place of Hindustan are fresh aloes found but in the (Possession) of the kings of Quamrun. The countries produce arge quantities of good cotton which grows on trees yielding their produce during many years. The product of this country is white conch which is blown like a trumpet and is called *shank* (K. C. Panigrahi-*Chronology of the Bhauma-Karas and Somavamsis of Orissa*, Madras, 1961, pp. 64-72)". We are further told that Nubin was situated on the frontier of the Bhauma kingdom and "The provisions and corn (*ghalla*) of Sarandib come from this town." We have already stated that the port Nubin has not been Identified, but we learn from the accounts of the Arab and Persian writers that it was the main port for the sea-borne trade with Sarandib, which is no doubt a corruption of Suvarnadvipa, a general name given by the Indians to the Malay Peninsula and the island such as Java, Sumatra, Borneo and Bali. The Arab and Persian writers thus furnish us with the valuable information that in the ninth and tenth centuries A.D. Orissa carried on brisk maritime trade with South-East Asia.

The medieval temples of Orissa supply us with a few panels of sculptures pertaining to her past maritime activities. One such sculpture is now preserved in the Ashutosh Museum of the Calcutta University,

and another discovered by the present writer and now exhibited in the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, depicts a series of boats in which elephants are being carried, apparently to a distant land. Only a part of this frieze has been preserved. The waves of the sea have been indicated by the zigzag lines with half-shown fishes, crabs and crocodiles (*Journal of Asiatic Society* Letters, Vol. XVII, No. 2, 1951, pp. 114, plate IX).

Activities in Ceylon : Orissa also maintained cultural contacts with some foreign countries, in which no maritime trade was involved. From the Buddhist work *Dathavamsa* of the third century A.D. we come to know that Danta Kumara, a prince of Ujjain married the daughter of king Guhasiva of Kalinga and received from him as dowry the tooth relic of Gautama Buddha, which was being worshipped in a *stupa* in Kalinga since the days of Guhasiva's predecessor Brahmadatta. Danta Kumar then took it to Ceylon where it was enshrined in a *stupa*. In 795 A.D. the Chinese Emperor Te-tsong received an autographed manuscript of the Buddhist work *Gandavyuha*, a part of the *Avatamsaka*, from the king of Orissa who "had deep faith in the Sovereign Law" and whose name has been translated as "the fortunate monarch who does what is pure, the lion." This Orissan king as we have already seen, is generally identified with the Bhauma ruler Sivakara Unmatta Simha who was the maker of the Bhauma kingdom in Orissa. The king Indrabhuti and the Buddhist saint Padmaprabha were also the men of Orissa and it is through their efforts that the Vajrayana form of Buddhism spread to Tibet. Thus the small kingdom of Kalinga or Orissa played a vital role in the spread of Indian culture and colonies in foreign lands.

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